

BIROn - Birkbeck Institutional Research Online

Enabling Open Access to Birkbeck's Research Degree output

Christ's Hospital and the poor of London, 1552-1666

<https://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/id/eprint/45933/>

Version: Full Version

Citation: Jenkins, Gary (2021) Christ's Hospital and the poor of London, 1552-1666. [Thesis] (Unpublished)

© 2020 The Author(s)

All material available through BIROn is protected by intellectual property law, including copyright law.

Any use made of the contents should comply with the relevant law.

[Deposit Guide](#)
Contact: [email](#)

Christ's Hospital and the Poor of London, 1552-1666

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy: 2021

Gary Jenkins

Department of History, Classics and Archaeology

Birkbeck College, University of London

I, Gary Jenkins, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Gary Jenkins

Abstract

This thesis examines a central element of the City of London's response to the problem of poverty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the foundation in 1552 of Christ's Hospital for poor and orphaned children. The hospital admitted children from infancy and maintained them both in London and with nurses in the country. Analysis of the admission and discharge records of almost 9,000 children admitted between 1552 and 1666 reveals the background – age, origin, means of admission – of the children. Their day to day lives are investigated, looking at their general wellbeing and health, diet, daily routine, and education, in order to establish whether the institution simply warehoused children until they were old enough to be discharged back into the city, or whether it aimed at and achieved more. An examination of discharges and the way in which the hospital prepared children for life outside the hospital completes this part of the study.

Fulfilling the hospital's mission required considerable logistical and administrative capabilities, which are scrutinised through an analysis of the activities of the court of governors who were ultimately responsible for the running of the hospital. The work of the paid officials and staff responsible for the day to day care of the children is also discussed and commented on. Analysis of the treasurers' account books shows that the hospital struggled to remain solvent throughout much of the period covered, a problem exacerbated by an increasing demand for places and subsequent increase in the hospital population, to a peak of 1,002 in 1658. The ways in which the hospital dealt with this are investigated, noting a shift away from parish and City support to reliance on income from legacies and donations, and an increasingly large property portfolio, as well as the use of borrowed money.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I must thank Professor Vanessa Harding for her patient and insightful supervision over the many years that it has taken to bring this thesis to completion. Without her wise guidance and suggestions I would have fallen by the wayside long ago. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my mentor at Birkbeck, Dr. Carmen Mangion, whose encouragement at difficult times during the writing process helped immeasurably. Thanks must also go to Professors John Henderson and Jerry White, who were my internal examiners when upgrading from MPhil to PhD, for their astute comments, and the suggestion to expand the time period covered by this thesis.

The bulk of archival research was initially undertaken at Guildhall library, and latterly at London Metropolitan Archives, and thanks are due to the archivists and other staff of these institutions. Thanks are also due to Dr. Nick Holder for permission to use his maps and plans of the Christ's Hospital site.

Friends have been an invaluable source of support and encouragement, but special mention must be made of my 'action partner' Geraldine McEwan whose comments and suggestions were immeasurably useful.

Finally, the immense support of my family has been a constant source of strength. My daughters Claire and Hannah have been unwavering in their encouragement to keep going, but the biggest debt of gratitude is to my wife Sue, who has put up with my stress throughout this process, and without whom this thesis would never have come to fruition.

Table of Contents

Abstract	3
Acknowledgments.....	4
Table of Contents	5
Table of Figures	7
Abbreviations	13
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	14
1.1 Background	15
1.2 Historiography.....	18
1.3 Methodology	23
1.4 Thesis structure.....	27
Appendix to chapter 1	28
Chapter 2 Admissions.....	31
2.1 Introduction	31
2.2 Admissions policy	39
2.3 Demography	47
2.4 Methods of admission	59
2.5 Conclusion.....	71
Appendix to chapter 2	72
Chapter 3 The lives of the children.....	84
3.1 Introduction	84
3.2 Daily routine.....	85
3.3 The public face of the children.....	90
3.4 Education.....	94

3.5	Children at nurse	115
3.6	Conclusion.....	123
	Appendix to chapter 3	124
Chapter 4	Health and mortality.....	126
4.1	Introduction	126
4.2	Children's health and illness	126
4.3	Medicine and nursing at Christ's Hospital	134
4.4	Mortality	145
4.5	Conclusion.....	185
Chapter 5	Discharges and destinations: life after Christ's Hospital	187
5.1	Introduction	187
5.2	Apprenticeship.....	190
5.3	Other discharges	217
5.4	Conclusion.....	2344
	Appendix to chapter 5	2366
Chapter 6	Administration and finance	245
6.1	Introduction	245
6.2	Administration.....	246
6.3	Accounts and Accounting	266
6.4	Income	276
6.5	Expenditure	299
6.6	Conclusion.....	309
Chapter 7	Conclusion	312
	Appendix 1	319
	Bibliography.....	326

Table of Figures

Figure 1-1: Greyfriars: map showing the post-Dissolution properties acquired by Christ's Hospital (scale 1:1000).....	18
Figure 1-2: Database categories used to collate data from children's registers.....	28
Figure 1-3: Database categories used to collate data from treasurers' account books	29
Figure 2-1: Detail of admission record showing entry made at a later date	36
Figure 2-2: Discharge entries for Sara Fisher and Edward Browne	37
Figure 2-3: Admissions by year (n=8,724)	43
Figure 2-4: Admissions 1563-99, 1600-33 and 1634-66 (n=8,724)	43
Figure 2-5: Total admissions per year 1563-99 (n=2,803)	44
Figure 2-6: Total admissions 1595-1605 (n=696)	45
Figure 2-7: Total admissions per year 1600-33 (n=2,885)	46
Figure 2-8: Total admissions per year 1634-66 (n=3,036)	46
Figure 2-9: Gender ratio of admissions (n=8,692).....	48
Figure 2-10: Admission numbers and ratios from the main admission sources by gender and time period (n=7,908).....	49
Figure 2-11: Gender of foundlings (n=477).....	50
Figure 2-12: Average age on admission (n=8,513).....	51
Figure 2-13: Average age on admission by age range (n=8,513)	53
Figure 2-14: Average age on admission from main referral sources (n=7,769).....	53
Figure 2-15: Ten most common guilds of fathers of children admitted to Christ's Hospital (n=3,633)	54
Figure 2-16: Occupational categories of fathers of children admitted to Christ's Hospital (n=6,868)	55
Figure 2-17: Number of foundlings admitted by referral source (n=474)	56
Figure 2-18: Ages of foundlings in years on admission (n=429)	59
Figure 2-19: Number of admissions and ratio to total admissions from all referral sources (n=8,724).....	60
Figure 2-20: Parishes admitting most children to Christ's Hospital 1563-99 (n=884)	61
Figure 2-21: Parishes admitting most children to Christ's Hospital 1600-33 (n=1,063)	62

Figure 2-22: Parishes admitting most children to Christ's Hospital 1634-66 (n=1,065)	62
Figure 2-23: Occupations of fathers whose children were admitted to Christ's Hospital, 1563-99	722
Figure 2-24: Occupations of fathers whose children were admitted to Christ's Hospital, 1600-33	76
Figure 2-25: Occupations of fathers whose children were admitted to Christ's Hospital, 1634-66	78
Figure 2-26: Numbers and ratio of children admitted from parishes (n=7,187)	80
Figure 3-1: Location of non-familial nurses of children below the age of one 1563-91 (n=198)	118
Figure 3-2: Location of non-familial nurses of children aged one and above 1563-91 (n=686)	119
Figure 3-3: First placement of children sent to nurse	121
Figure 3-4: Gender of children sent to nurse	121
Figure 3-5: Age on first placement with nurse, mother or father	122
Figure 3-6: Diets at Christ's Hospital 1678, The Quaker Workhouse Clerkenwell 1713, & the St. James Workhouse, Westminster	124
Figure 4-1: Deaths per decade based on admission year	153
Figure 4-2: Deaths per discharge year 1563-93 and 1617-69 (n=2,018)	154
Figure 4-3: Deaths and other discharges 1563-93 by discharge year (n=1,519) Error! Bookmark not defined.	
Figure 4-4: Deaths and other discharges by discharge year 1617-70 (n=4,564) Error! Bookmark not defined.	
Figure 4-5: Ratio of deaths to other discharges 1563-93 and 1617-70 by discharge year (n=6,083)	156
Figure 4-6: Ratio of deaths to discharges	157
Figure 4-7: Deaths and total hospital population in London and the country	159
Figure 4-8: Deaths per thousand relative to total hospital population in London and country	159
Figure 4-9: Deaths per 000	160
Figure 4-10: Survival until ten years old based on age on admission	161
Figure 4-11: Comparison of mortality rates between Christ's Hospital children, the Foundling Hospital & selected London parishes	162

Figure 4-12: Ratio of mortality and survival to discharge of children admitted below the age of one 1563-93 (n=371).....	164
Figure 4-13: Mortality rates for children admitted below the age of one 1563-93..	164
Figure 4-14: Ratio of mortality and survival to discharge of children admitted below the age of one 1617-64 (n=90).....	166
Figure 4-15: Mortality rates for children admitted below the age of one 1617-66..	166
Figure 4-16: Average age on death in sickward, with nurse and with mother 1563-93	168
Figure 4-17: Average age of death in sickward, with nurse and with mother 1617-1669	169
Figure 4-18: Children deceased at nurse by admission year 1563-1664 (n=495)	170
Figure 4-19: Children deceased at nurse and with the mother by admission year 1563-1665 (n=1,021).....	171
Figure 4-20: Location of deaths	173
Figure 4-21: Deaths in sickward 1563-93 and 1617-69 (n=477).....	174
Figure 4-22: Age on death in sickward 1563-1593 (n=213).....	175
Figure 4-23: Age on death in sickward 1617-1666 (n=263).....	175
Figure 4-24: Mortality by discharge year 1563-93 (n=1519)	176
Figure 4-25: Mortality by discharge year 1617-70 (n=4588)	177
Figure 4-26: Ratio of deaths to other discharges 1563-93 and 1617-70 with plague years highlighted (n=6107)	177
Figure 4-27: Comparison of mortality in plague years and five-year average of preceding or following years (n=2,131).....	179
Figure 4-28: Comparison of mortality in plague years and five-year average of preceding or following years (n=2,131).....	179
Figure 4-29: Average age on death in plague years and non-plague years.....	181
Figure 4-30: Mortality in Plague Years by Gender (n=618).....	182
Figure 4-31: Location of deaths in plague years (n=565).....	183
Figure 5-1: Discharges including deaths and entries with no information (n=8,744)	189
Figure 5-2: Discharges excluding deaths and entries with no information (n= 4,803)	189
Figure 5-3: Average age on discharge (n=4,632)	190

Figure 5-4: Number of discharges by period, excluding deaths and entries where no information is shown (n=4,578).....	193
Figure 5-5: Ratio of children discharged to apprenticeship against all other types of discharge excluding deaths and entries where no discharge information is shown (n=4,578).....	193
Figure 5-6: Apprenticeship methods where apprenticeship is specified in discharge entry.....	196
Figure 5-7: Ratio of apprenticeship methods where apprenticeship is specified in discharge entry	197
Figure 5-8: Categories of occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed where known (n=950)	201
Figure 5-9: Categories of occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed where known (n=950)	2022
Figure 5-10: Change over time of male discharges to masters, where the master's occupation or guild is known, in most popular guilds, and ratio to total apprenticeships and apprenticeship to 'cloth & clothing' trades*	204
Figure 5-11: Ten most common occupations of masters of boys apprenticed 1563-1670	205
Figure 5-12: Average length of apprenticeship by gender (n=881 male, 243 female)	207
Figure 5-13: Ten most common occupations of master or mistress of girls apprenticed 1563-1670	209
Figure 5-14: Average age on apprenticeship by gender (n=1246 male, 348 female)	210
Figure 5-15: Average age of male apprenticeship at Christ's Hospital compared with Wallis, Webb and Minns.....	212
Figure 5-16: Apprenticeship premiums paid 1642-1666	216
Figure 5-17: Average age on discharge to other person (n=313 male, 249 female)	219
Figure 5-18: Numbers and years when children were discharged to parish	222
Figure 5-19: Average age on discharge to family (n=1,174 male, 764 female)	223
Figure 5-20: Family members to whom children were discharged 1563-99	2255
Figure 5-21: Family members to whom children were discharged 1600-70	225
Figure 5-22: Number of boys attending university by decade.....	2288

Figure 5-23: Endowed exhibitions available to Christ's Hospital alumni 1575-1667	230
Figure 5-24: University colleges attended by Christ's Hospital alumni 1570-1671	232
Figure 5-25: Average age on discharge to apprenticeship, family, parish, other person and university (n=4,743)	2366
Figure 5-26: Discharge to apprenticeship, family and other person 1563-1599 (n=769)	236
Figure 5-27: Discharge to apprenticeship, family, other person and parish 1600-70 (n=3,715).....	237
Figure 5-28: Occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed, 1563-99	2377
Figure 5-29: Occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed, 1600-34	24040
Figure 5-30: Occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed, 1635-70	2422
Figure 5-31: Occupations to which both boys and girls were recorded as being apprenticed	244
Figure 6-1: Structure of the administration in 1553	247
Figure 6-2: Presidents of Christ's Hospital 1553-1683	249
Figure 6-3: Treasurers of Christ's Hospital 1552-1679	256
Figure 6-4: Income and expenditure to nearest £*	269
Figure 6-5: Surplus or deficit of income and expenditure 1562-93 to nearest £* ...	270
Figure 6-6: Surplus or deficit of income and expenditure 1594-1633 to nearest £..	270
Figure 6-7: Surplus or deficit of income and expenditure 1634-66 to nearest £	271
Figure 6-8: Surplus or deficit of income and expenditure 1634-66 excluding borrowed money and loan repayments to nearest £	272
Figure 6-9: Debt owing to nearest £ by year beginning accounts	273
Figure 6-10: Income per annum to nearest £*	278
Figure 6-11: Sources of income to nearest £*	279
Figure 6-12: Ratio of income from different sources*	279
Figure 6-13: Revenue from parish and wardmote inquest collections to nearest £*	280
Figure 6-14: Revenue from cash benevolences and legacies to nearest £*	286
Figure 6-15: Income and expenditure from land & property to nearest £*	293
Figure 6-16: Total income and expenditure of cloth halls to nearest £*	295

Figure 6-17: Money received for children attending funerals to nearest £*	296
Figure 6-18: Categories of expenditure to nearest £*	300
Figure 6-19: Ratio of expenditure on different categories*	300
Figure 6-20: Wage payments to nearest £*	303
Figure 6-21: Itemised expenditure on food to nearest £*	304
Figure 6-22: Fuel purchased to nearest £*	306
Figure 6-23: Pensions paid to nearest £*	308
Figure 7-1: Chronological list of Christ's Hospital alumni who attended university and their subsequent careers 1570-1671	319

Abbreviations

<i>ACAD</i>	<i>A Cambridge Alumni Database</i> , https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/
Allan, <i>Admissions</i>	<i>Christ's Hospital Admissions Vol. I 1540-1599</i> , ed. by George A.T. Allan (London, 1937).
C.M.B.	Court Minute Books, Christ's Hospital, 1556-1677, CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001/ vols 1-6, https://search.lma.gov.uk/
C.R.	Children's Registers, Christ's Hospital, 1563-169, CLC/210/F/003/MS12818/001, vol's 1-4, https://search.lma.gov.uk/
<i>CCED</i>	<i>The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835</i> , https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/
<i>EEBO</i>	<i>Early English Books Online</i> , https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/eebo/index
<i>Memoranda</i> , ed. by Firth	<i>Memoranda, References, and Documents Relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London: prepared under the directions of the committee appointed in relation to the said hospitals.</i> ed. by James Francis Firth (London. 1863).
Howes, <i>Manuscript</i>	Howes, John, <i>John Howes Manuscript, 1582, Being a Brief Note of the Order and Manner of the Proceedings in the First Erection of the Three Royal Hospitals of Christ, Bridewell & St. Thomas the Apostle</i> , ed. by William Lempriere (London, 1904)
L.M.A.	London Metropolitan Archives, https://search.lma.gov.uk/
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
T.A.	Treasurer's Account Books, Christ's Hospital, 1552-1666, CLC/210/C/001/MS12819/001, vol's 1-9, https://search.lma.gov.uk/
TNA	The National Archives, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/

Chapter 1 Introduction

John Howes, the chronicler of the foundation of Christ's, St. Thomas's and Bridewell hospitals, began his 1582 manuscript with a comment on the number of poor people in the city of London with the words: 'Was there ever in any age the lyke number of poore people as there ar at this present begging in the streates of the Cyttye'.¹ The purpose of this thesis is to examine one element of the City's attempt to relieve the problem of the poor, namely how to assist poor and orphaned children through the foundation of Christ's Hospital. In subsequent chapters the development of Christ's Hospital from its foundation in 1552 until the Great Fire of 1666, when the buildings of the hospital were destroyed, will be examined in order to ascertain the nature of the institution that was Christ's Hospital. Its original purpose was to care for and educate children, in order that 'when they shall obtain riper years [they] shall [not be] destitute of honest callings and occupations, whereby they may honestly exercise themselves in some good faculty and science for the advantage and utility of the commonwealth'.² Through an examination of the hospital records and other sources, this thesis will ask to what extent the hospital remained true to that aim, or whether it became an institution for warehousing children until they reached adulthood, when they could be released back onto the streets of the city. Conversely, did the hospital abandon its commitment to the genuinely needy in favour of children connected in some way with wealthy benefactors? Certainly, as will be seen, funding from city parishes had diminished to a negligible amount by the end of the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth century the hospital was largely dependent on revenue from legacies and donations that sometimes came with conditions. Through an analysis of both the referral sources of children admitted, and the guild membership or occupation of the children's fathers, this thesis will show that, even

¹ *John Howes Manuscript, 1582, Being 'a Brief Note of the Order and Manner of the Proceedings in the First Erection of' the Three Royal Hospitals of Christ, Bridewell & St. Thomas the Apostle*, ed. by William Lempriere (London, 1904), p. 1.

² 'Translation of the Letters Patent of Edward the Sixth, for Christ's, Bridewell, and St. Thomas' Hospital. 26 June, 7 Edward VI., 1553', in *Memoranda, References, and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London*, ed. by James Francis Firth (London, 1836), Appendix, p. 65.

though funding arrangements changed, the largest number of referrals continued to come from the city parishes throughout the period covered here.

An analysis of the discharge records will answer the question of whether the children did find themselves able to ‘exercise themselves in some good faculty and science for the advantage and utility of the commonwealth’.

John Henderson has raised the question of institutional identity, and the need to look at the way in which institutions provide poor relief in the wider context of community and family,³ and this thesis aims to shed light on the relationship between the hospital and the City, as well as the parishes from which most of the children came. In addition, it will be shown that the hospital maintained relationships with the parents of the children in its care.

1.1 Background

London’s population increased significantly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Historians estimate that the population of London grew from 70,000 in 1550 to 200,000 in 1600, doubling to 400,000 by 1650 and increasing again to 575,000 in 1700.⁴ This rapidly expanding population, coupled with the loss of charitable provision for the poor and needy resulting from the closure of London’s monastic institutions in the 1530s, fuelled an increase in poverty and vagrancy, leading to the necessity of new forms of charitable provision. In the latter years of the reign of King Edward VI, Howes reports: ‘that the churches, streates and lanes Were fylled daylye with a number of Loathsome Lazars botches & sores so that St. Bartholomewes hospitall Was not able to receyve the tenthe parte of those that then were to be provided for.’⁵ The Bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley, preached a sermon in front of the King at Westminster in January 1552, in which he exhorted the rich ‘to be merciful unto the poore, and also moved such as were in auchthoritie

³ John Henderson, ‘Introduction’, *Continuity and Change* 3.2 (1988), p. 149.

⁴ Roger A.P. Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 51. See also Vanessa Harding, ‘The Population of London, 1550-1700: a review of the published evidence’, *The London Journal*, 15.2 (1990), pp. 111-129; Vanessa Harding, ‘Early Modern London 1550-1700’, *The London Journal*, 20.2 (1995) p. 36.

⁵ Howes, *Manuscript*, pp. 6-7.

to travaile by some charitable waye and meane to comfort and relieve them'.⁶

According to Richard Grafton the King, 'understandyng that a great number of poore people swarme in this realme, and chiefly in the Citie of London', summoned Ridley to meet with him to discuss the problem.⁷ The result of this meeting was that Ridley asked the King for a letter of authority to take to Sir Richard Dodd, the Lord Mayor, 'willyng hym to call unto him such assistaunce as he should thinke meete to consult of thys matter, for some order to be taken therein'.⁸ The letter was duly provided and Dodd appointed a committee – initially of nine men (two aldermen and seven commoners), and later increased to thirty men – to consider the problem.

A threefold solution was proposed. Firstly, 'to take oute of the streates all the fatherles children & other poore mens children that were not able to kepe them & to bringe them to the late dissolved house of the Greie ffryers which they devysed to be an hospital for them where they shoulde have meate drincke & cloths, lodging and learning'.⁹ The second part of their proposal was that St. Thomas' Hospital in Southwark should be used to house and treat 'all the lame and aged people suche as had not any place to go unto',¹⁰ and the third was that 'all the ydell & lustie roges as well men as woemen shoulde all be taken up & be convayed into some house where they shoulde have all things necessarie & be compelled to labour'.¹¹ The aldermen of the city were instructed to survey their wards to estimate the number of people in need of relief. They found 2,100 in need of relief, of whom 300 were 'fatherless children'.¹²

Fundraising began, and by midsummer 1554 over £6,000 had been raised for the refurbishment and running of Christ's Hospital and St. Thomas's. The refurbishment of the Grey Friars buildings began in spring 1552; the work was completed by November and the first 340 children were admitted.¹³ Letters patent were signed by

⁶ Richard Grafton, *Grafton's Chronicle; or History of England to which is added his table of the Bailiffs, Sheriffs, and Mayors of the City of London from the year 1189, to 1558 inclusive, vol II* (London, 1809) p.529.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, p. 530.

⁹ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 11.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 13.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 14.

¹² Ibid, pp. 20-21.

¹³, Carol Kazmierczak Manzione, *Christ's Hospital of London, 1552-1598 "A Passing Deed of Pity"* (London: Associated University Presses, 1995), pp. 33-34.

King Edward VI on 26 June 1553 decreeing that: ‘when they shall be so founded, erected and established, shall be named and called the Hospitals of Edward the Sixth King of England, of Christ, Bridewell and St. Thomas the Apostle’¹⁴ The reason that the Grey Friars precinct was chosen as the site of Christ’s Hospital rather than Bridewell Palace appears to be because, at the time the committee first started work, Bridewell was not actually in their possession. A separate request was made to the King in 1552 in the form of: ‘A Supplication made by the Assent of the Governors of the Poor in the name of the same Poor, to the Kings Majesty for the obtaining of the House of Bridewell.’¹⁵

Following the dissolution, the Crown had made sales or grants of ex-monastic property in London to favoured courtiers or royal officials. For example, the royal servants Jerome and Francis Benall were given a rent-free life grant of the Guardian’s House of the Grey Friars monastery, and Sir Edward North, treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, was able to purchase tenements and a garden for £20. Nick Holder speculates that the Crown policy of selling or granting the former monastic properties in a piecemeal fashion may have been a deliberate tactic to make it more difficult to undo the dissolution at a later time.¹⁶

Whatever the reason, the consequence for the newly founded Christ’s Hospital was that the full Grey Friars site was not available, and initially the hospital had a holding of approximately 1 acre, comprising most of the two cloisters. The hospital expanded its holdings over time, either by purchasing or being given other parcels of land around the site. Sir Martin Bowes bestowed a garden in 1565, and the hospital purchased the infirmary court from the property speculators Thomas Bochier and Hugh Losse. These two had, in 1544, purchased from the Crown almost fifty tenements or cloister buildings which had formerly belonged to the dissolved religious houses of London. By the end of the sixteenth century the size of the hospital site had increased to approximately 1 ¾ acres, the additional holdings being used mainly to build income generating tenements. Nick Holder has produced a

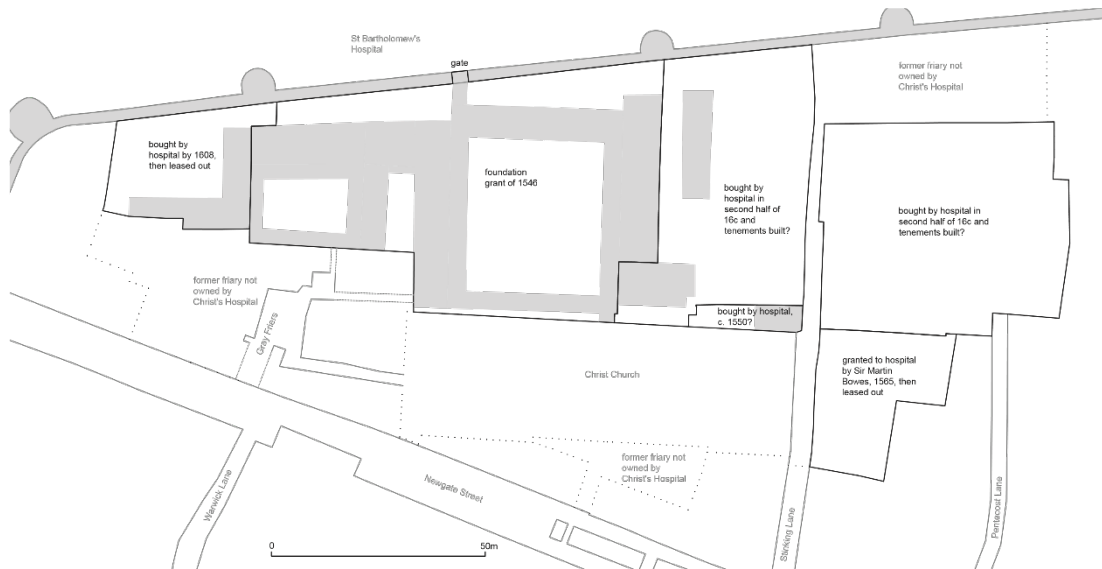
¹⁴ ‘Letters Patent of Edward VI’, in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 73.

¹⁵ Alfred J. Copeland, *Bridewell Royal Hospital Past and Present. A short account of it as Palace, Hospital, Prison and School with a collection of interesting memoranda hitherto unpublished* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1888), p. 39.

¹⁶ Nick Holder, *The Medieval Friaries of London: A topographic and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011), p. 244

useful plan of the properties granted to Christ's Hospital and the subsequent expansion, which is reproduced in Figure 1-1 below.¹⁷

Figure 1-1: Greyfriars: map showing the post-Dissolution properties acquired by Christ's Hospital (scale 1:1000)



1.2 Historiography

Neither of Vanessa Harding's two journal articles on the historiography of early modern London reveals any writing specifically on the London hospitals generally or Christ's Hospital in particular.¹⁸ Christ's Hospital has received surprisingly little scholarly attention given the availability of good original sources. There are several older histories of the hospital written mainly by people with some connection to the school. These histories tend to be rather broad and reverential and lacking in critical analysis.¹⁹ The best of these is probably Ernest Pearce's *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, published in 1901,²⁰ although G.A.T. Allen, who was the clerk of Christ's Hospital, has also published a very useful transcription of volume one of the children's

¹⁷ Holder, *Friaries*, p. 401.

¹⁸ Harding, 'Early Modern London 1550-1700'; Vanessa Harding, 'Recent perspectives on early modern London', *Historical Journal*, 47.2 (2004), pp. 1-16.

¹⁹ For example, George A.T. Allan, *Christ's Hospital* (London: Blackie & Son, 1937); William H. Blanch, *The Blue-Coat Boys or School Life in Christ's Hospital with a Short History of the Foundation* (London: E.W. Allen, 1877); William Lempriere, *A History of the Girls' School of Christ's Hospital, London, Hoddesdon and Hertford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924).

²⁰ Ernest Harold Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (London: Methuen, 1936).

registers covering the period 1554-1599, as well as a volume of Christ's Hospital university exhibitors.²¹

The most recent book specifically on Christ's Hospital is Carol Manzione's 1995 publication *Christ's Hospital of London, 1552-1598 "A Passing Deed of Pity"*. Manzione's study only covers the early period of the hospital's history and concludes in 1598. This was a pivotal moment in the history of the hospital and a period of financial turmoil, as control of the poor rate moved from Christ's Hospital to the city parishes, reducing income for the hospital and precipitating a funding crisis.

Manzione describes her book as 'a basic institutional study of Christ's Hospital'.²² She focuses on the administration and finances of Christ's Hospital, relying heavily on data compiled from the treasurers' account books. Unfortunately, the lack of context makes the figures that she presents somewhat confusing. Her chapter on the children only comprises thirteen pages of the 154 in the book (excluding appendices), and in this she uses mainly anecdotal evidence from the children's registers and court books to illustrate the lives of the children. What is missing is any statistical information on the children: gender ratios; average ages; sources of admissions; and mortality rates etc. A more recent journal article addresses some of these omissions but again, the article lacks depth and context.²³

In his 1993 Oxford D. Phil thesis Christopher Daly looks at the foundation of the four royal hospitals – St. Bartholomew, Bridewell, Christ's and St. Thomas's.²⁴ The thesis focuses on the period 1500 to 1572 so covers an earlier period than this study. Daly provides a good discussion of the problem of the poor in sixteenth century London and has individual chapters on each of the hospitals. However, the discussion on Christ's Hospital is fairly broad and lacks detailed statistical information. He doesn't, for example, provide numbers of admissions and discharges, and there is very little discussion of the finances of the hospital. As his

²¹ *Christ's Hospital Admissions Vol.1 1540-1599*, ed. by George A.T. Allan (London, 1937); *Christ's Hospital exhibitors to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1566-1923*, ed. by George A.T. Allan (London, 1924).

²² Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*. p. 9.

²³ Carol Kazmierczak Manzione, 'Identity, Placement, and Circulation of the Children of Christ's Hospital', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 6.3 (2013), pp. 428-455.

²⁴ Christopher Daly, *The Hospitals of London: Administration, Refoundation and Benefaction, c. 1500-1572* (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1993).

thesis is concerned with the four hospitals, and only covers the first twenty years of Christ's Hospital's existence, the scope of his study is limited as far as Christ's Hospital is concerned.

General histories of London have by and large neglected the importance of the role played by Christ's Hospital in the early modern period or have neglected to use the Christ's Hospital archive for source material. Steve Rappaport makes only one oblique reference to the hospital in his 1989 book *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth century London*, when discussing the need to replace apprentices after mortality crises caused by outbreaks of the plague.²⁵ The main criticism of Rappaport's comprehensive study is that it presents a too optimistic view of London in the sixteenth century, minimising social disorder and hardship, and overemphasising the opportunities available to ordinary Londoners. Rappaport was challenging earlier works which portray sixteenth century London as a city riven by economic and social crisis.²⁶ London, according to Rappaport, was a city with relatively low numbers of poor and an effective system of social services provided by the wards, parishes and livery companies. By contrast, John Howes' assertion that, at the end of Edward's reign, 'ye number of the poore did so increase of all sorts'²⁷ indicates less order and more poverty than Rappaport allows for. Christ's Hospital's own records indicate that it was oversubscribed from the beginning and the numbers of children that it cared for consistently exceeded the number for which they were supposed to be catering. This number was set in 1556 at 400, comprising 150 infants and 250 older children,²⁸ yet in 1590 the total number was 556,²⁹ reaching a high point of 1,002 in 1658.³⁰ At no point in the years covered by this study did the total number fall back to the original figure of 400.

²⁵ Steve Lee Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 73.

²⁶ See for example, Peter Clark, and Paul Slack, 'Introduction' in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, ed. by Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 1-56; Augustus L. Beier, 'Social Problems in Elizabethan London', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9.2 (1978), pp. 203-221.

²⁷ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 6.

²⁸ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 139.

²⁹ T.A., vol. 2, 1590/1, vol. 9, 1658/2.

³⁰ [Anon.], *The 9th day of April. 1658. A true report of the great number of poor children, and other poor people maintained in the severall hospitals by the pious care of the Lord Mayor, Commonalty and citizens of the city of London* (London: s.n., 1658).

Ian Archer treads a line between the older school of crisis-torn London and Rappaport's overly optimistic view of London's stability. He points out the difficulties in gauging the level of poverty in the city and the unreliability of some of the sources used by Rappaport, but asserts that the proportion of the city's population affected by poverty rose during the sixteenth century.³¹ Archer recognises the foundation and refoundation of the royal hospitals as an important part of the city of London's response to the growing problem of poverty in the mid sixteenth century. Archer manages an impressive amount of detail about the foundation and early years of Christ's Hospital, and the financial crises that limited the hospital's ability to adequately cope with the demand for its services.³² He also covers the sometimes difficult relationship between the hospital and the parishes, over the allocation of financial resources. Under the poor law legislation of 1563 and 1572 Christ's Hospital was appointed to receive poor relief collections and then rebate some back to the parishes to provide outdoor relief. The amount the hospital retained for its own use was the subject of dispute with many parishes, and Archer highlights the difficulties for both sides with this arrangement.³³ The poor law of 1598 reversed this arrangement, and put control over poor relief collections into the hands of the parishes. Archer does not cover the effects of this important change to the financial status of Christ's Hospital, but the treasurers' accounts show that in the period immediately following this change receipts from the parishes dropped dramatically and caused such difficulty that in 1603 £290 was borrowed from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen.³⁴

Archer's book covers the Elizabethan period, so he doesn't follow Christ's Hospital far into the seventeenth century. He does however conclude from the difficult relationship between the parishes and the hospital, and also the fact that admissions were allowed at the suit of individuals rather than the parish vestries, that this represented 'a weakening of the bond between the hospital and the parishes'.³⁵ He argues that the hospital attracted the attention of government officials and courtiers

³¹ Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability, Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 152-153.

³² *Ibid*, p. 158.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 160.

³⁴ T.A., vol. 2, 1603/4.

³⁵ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 157.

petitioning for admission of children with whom they had some connection,³⁶ which is undoubtedly true, but the data I will present in this thesis show that although the financial relationship between parishes and the hospital diminished, admissions from the parishes did not.

Some historians have noted the importance of Christ's Hospital in the sixteenth century but have downplayed the importance of the hospital in the seventeenth century, in terms of poor relief, describing it as a period where Christ's Hospital transitioned into being primarily a grammar school. Valerie Pearl identifies the 1598 poor law, and the ensuing financial difficulties, as a crucial turning point which resulted in Christ's Hospital being forced to reduce admissions and re-evaluate its mission, choosing to focus on education rather than the broader, more holistic, mission originally intended.³⁷ Paul Slack supports this view, arguing that by the 1650's Christ's Hospital was already on the way to becoming a public school rather than a hospital.³⁸

Paul Slack places the foundation of the hospitals in a European context, saying that 'in conception and in reality they were unique in England', and that they 'can be compared only with poor relief institutions in major cities on the Continent,'³⁹ yet Slack paints a pessimistic view of the effectiveness of the hospital scheme in Tudor London, suggesting that they were overwhelmed almost immediately. He points to the reluctance of parishes to hand over poor relief collections, and the inadequacy of revenues from charitable endowments, as well as hallage receipts from Blackwell Hall, as evidence that they had neither the financial resources nor the physical capacity to solve the problem of poverty in the city and that ultimately the endeavour failed.⁴⁰

W.K. Jordan, in his important, but flawed, study, *The Charities of London 1480-1660*, suggests that until at least 1660 Christ's Hospital was functioning according to

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Valerie Pearl, 'Puritans and Poor Relief. The London Workhouse, 1649-1660', in *Puritans and Revolutionaries. Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill*, ed. by Donald H. Pennington and Keith Vivian Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 213.

³⁸ Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Longman, 1988), p.70.

³⁹ Paul Slack, 'Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-58.' in *The mid-Tudor polity, c. 1540-1560*, ed. by Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (London: Palgrave, 1980), p. 108.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 113.

its original purpose, as both a hospital and home for orphaned children.⁴¹ He notes also that the hospital was the recipient of the largest number of benefactions from London citizens donating to educational establishments, but does not provide any other insight into the administration or running of the hospital.⁴² Jordan's work, and the conclusions he draws, have been the subject of some criticism and debate.⁴³ D. W. Jones gives a useful insight into the workings of Blackwell Hall, and some of the difficulties in administering the cloth market, and also the amount raised for Christ's Hospital in doing so, but he doesn't say anything about the running of the hospital as a whole.⁴⁴

1.3 Methodology

The archives of Christ's Hospital are held at the London Metropolitan Archives and are relatively large and intact. The main primary sources for this study are the children's registers, the court minute books, and the treasurers' account books. Other information is drawn from other Christ's Hospital documents including the nurse books, the registers of benefactors and legacies, and letter books detailing correspondence between Christ's Hospital and others. There is also a lot of information in the archives concerning individual benefactors and the way in which their bequests were managed. Mary Ramsey, wife of Sir Thomas Ramsey Lord Mayor of London in 1577, was a particularly generous benefactor before her death, and in her will left a substantial sum to Christ's Hospital. The conditions attached to this bequest provide an insight into testamentary practices during the period, and the way in which the governors dealt with this bequest, and others, shows the way in which the hospital was able to deal with the changed financial arrangements following the 1598 poor law.

⁴¹ Wilbur Kitchener Jordan, *The Charities of London 1480-1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960), p. 192.

⁴² Ibid, p. 212.

⁴³ William G. Bittle and R. Todd Lane, 'Inflation and Philanthropy in England: a Reassessment of W.K. Jordan's Data', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 29 (1976); pp. 203-10; J. F. Hadwin, 'Deflating Philanthropy', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 31.1 (1978); pp. 105-17; Archer, *Pursuit*, pp. 163-169.

⁴⁴ Dwyrdd Wyn Jones, 'The "hallage" receipts of the London cloth markets, 1562-c. 1720,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 25.4 (1972), pp. 567-87.

The children's registers contain admission and discharge information on the children such as age, source of admission, father's guild, parish of origin etc. The registers were compiled from 1563 until 1911 and are complete for every year covered by this study. There are some difficulties with the children's registers, in that the amount of information entered is sometimes variable, ranging from just a name, with or without a date, to full details of the child with age, gender, parentage, guild affiliation of the father, parish and any special financial arrangements, particularly if sponsored by an individual rather than a parish. The date on which a child is entered as being admitted is also not necessarily accurate. In some years the admissions of children are also entered in the court minute books and the dates do not always tally with one another.

I have entered the data from the children's registers into an Access database which enables me to generate statistical information on the children. There are details of 8,744 children in my database, recording both admission and discharge information. The admission information recorded includes: admission date; forename and surname; gender; age on admission; whether the child is a foundling; father's name and guild; method of admission; and parish of origin. Any additional information that may be in an individual entry has been recorded in a notes field. I have categorised sources of admissions into fifteen categories, listed in the appendix to this chapter.

Discharge information is not as complete as admissions information, but of the 8,744 admissions 7,032 children have at least some information about their discharge. I have categorised discharges into twenty-two categories (see appendix to this chapter), and then added subcategories where appropriate. For example, the 'deceased' category has nine subcategories which specify where the child died. These are: with mother, father or grandparents; at nurse: in the sickward; by accident; with another person; other; and no information. As with the admissions in the database I have a notes field for any other information.

The treasurers' account books provide details of the income and expenditure of the hospital and were compiled annually. They were audited accounts and the signatures of the auditors are at the end of each year's accounts. Unfortunately, the accounts do not survive for every year but there is enough to provide a picture of the financial

affairs of the hospital.⁴⁵ The other difficulty with the accounts is that the accounting year changed when a new treasurer was appointed. For example, Robert Cogan was treasurer from 1593 to 1611 and accounts were prepared from Michaelmas to Michaelmas each year. The next treasurer was Richard Heath and the accounting period moved to a start date in June, while the next treasurer, John Hawes, moved the accounting period to start in December. The format and accounting procedure also changed with different treasurers. Each set of accounts comprises two sections – Charges (receipts) and Discharges (expenditure). At the end, the charges and discharges are totalled. The way in which arrears were dealt with varied according to treasurer. Some accounts include arrears in both charges and discharges while others account for arrears separately. Although the broad categories listed in the accounts remain largely the same, the individual items that are recorded change according to treasurer, and also over time. For example, candles are listed as a separate item between 1590 and 1600 but are not recorded between 1601 and 1629, at which point they reappear; it seems unlikely that the hospital did not purchase candles for thirty years. The most likely explanation for this anomaly is that purchases were covered by the ‘necessities’ section of the accounts.

I have recorded income and expenditure in two tables within the database, putting pounds, shillings and pence in separate fields, and used a Microsoft Excel based calculator to add up columns of figures.⁴⁶ The categories of income and expenditure are listed in the appendix to this chapter.

The court minute books give an insight into the administration and running of the hospital, and also highlight the difficulties the governors faced in keeping the hospital running. The court met approximately twelve times per year, and the minute books survive intact from 1556 until 1886. The court became largely autonomous from City governance and had considerable power to decide on changes to the admissions and discharge policy of Christ’s Hospital without reference to any other body. For example, the age at which children were discharged was sixteen up until 1613 when the court decided that ‘all parishes that shall put forth children to be admitted into this house shall covenant to receive them againe at 15 yeares of age or

⁴⁵ There are no records for the years 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1621, 1622, and 1637.

⁴⁶ £.S.D. Calculator available from *AJH Computer Services*, <http://www.ajhw.co.uk/files.html>.

else not be admitted'.⁴⁷ The court also demonstrated a remarkable flexibility in interpreting the admissions policy when it suited it to do so. In 1605 admission was requested for a three-year old boy, George Norton, by the King: 'The same childe being viewed was found to be lame the admittance thereof is againste the orders of this house yet this courte doe think it their dutie to consider the goodwill in admitting.' The child was not admitted but a weekly pension was granted 'until the same child be cured or otherwise be admitted a child of this house at the discrecion of the governors'.⁴⁸ The court was also responsible for the employment and discipline of officers and staff of the hospital, making financial decisions (for example giving the treasurer permission to borrow money to cover running costs) and administering the increasingly large property portfolio, administering legacies and granting pensions.

The court minute books are a resource that has been largely untapped by historians of early modern London, but they have much to offer in furthering the understanding not only of Christ's Hospital, but also the government of London. Between 1556 and 1655 they also contain the minutes of general court meetings of the governors of Bridewell, Christ's, St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's hospitals. These courts were held annually on St. Matthew's Day in accordance with the 1557 *Order of the hospitals of King Henry the VIIIth and King Edward the VIth*,⁴⁹ and primarily dealt with the election of governors for the four hospitals and appointment of auditors for the accounts, although by 1615 these joint courts had become largely ceremonial.⁵⁰

The bulk of the data presented in this thesis is drawn from the children's registers, treasurer's account books and court minute books, but other Christ's Hospital records, such as the nurse books, registers of benefactors and legacies and letter books, provide more detail and depth, and give a more detailed insight into the life of Christ's Hospital than has previously been seen.

⁴⁷ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 172.

⁴⁸ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 89.

⁴⁹ 'The Order of the hospitals of King Henry the VIIIth and King Edward the VIth, viz. St. Bartholomew's, Christ's, Bridewell, St. Thomas's', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, pp. 83-107.

⁵⁰ Craig Rose, 'Politics and the London Royal Hospitals, 1683-92', in *The Hospital in History*, ed. by Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 124.

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis is structured in a chronological sequence from the point of view of a child in the care of Christ's Hospital, beginning in Chapter 2 with an analysis of admissions to the hospital. The admissions policy of the hospital will be examined here along with data drawn from the admissions section of the children's registers, to ascertain how rigorously the admissions policy was applied. Data will be presented here on the numbers of children admitted, the origin of the children and age and gender, noticing the changes over time. The method of referral to Christ's Hospital will also be discussed here, looking in detail at admissions that came from the city parishes, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and those by suit of other individuals.

Having seen how the children came to be in the care of the hospital, the next part of this thesis will focus on the lived experience of the children. Chapter 3 will explore the lives of the children, focusing on their daily routine, diet and educational opportunities, as well as the place of the children in the wider life of the city. Many younger children were cared for outside the hospital with wet or dry nurses either in the country or in London, and the care of these children will be discussed here before moving on, in Chapter 4, to discuss the health of the children and provisions for medical care, as well as the way in which the hospital dealt with periodic outbreaks of plague within the city. This will lead on to an analysis and discussion of mortality amongst the children.

From here Chapter 5 will move on to discuss the fate of the children on discharge from the hospital, looking at where the children were discharged to, and at what age. Biographical details, where possible, will be used to track some children through their subsequent careers in an attempt to ascertain the extent to which the hospital was able to fulfil its mission of producing productive and useful citizens, although the children for whom such information is available are those who did well and became particularly notable, usually university graduates. As will be seen, the number of boys who attended university is very small in relation to the total number of children discharged, and for most, who left Christ's Hospital for apprenticeship or domestic service, little is known. It will be demonstrated here, however, that the

hospital did take care in making arrangements for the children leaving its care and did demonstrate an ongoing interest in the futures of those in their care.

In Chapter 6 the focus will move away from the children to the administration and finances of the hospital. As will be seen, the operation of Christ's Hospital was a complex task. The hospital was not just responsible for children housed in the main hospital, but also for a large number who were maintained outside of the city, with nurses in the country. Frank Freeman Foster describes being a governor of one of the hospitals as 'the first important civic office' in ascending the civic hierarchy of London, and treasurer or auditor the second.⁵¹ In this section, the role of the governors will be scrutinised, with particular focus on the men who served as treasurer or president. The income and expenditure of the hospital will also be examined here, exploring the reasons for the changing funding structure of the hospital, as financial support from the City and parishes diminished, and the hospital became more reliant on income from legacies and donors, and its own increasingly substantial property portfolio. The relationship between the City and hospital will also be considered here.

Finally, in Chapter 7, my findings will be summarised.

Appendix to chapter 1

Figure 1-2: Database categories used to collate data from children's registers

Admission Categories	Discharge Categories
Lord Mayor & Court of Aldermen	Apprenticed
Request Monarch	Deceased
Request Other Person	Mother
St. Thomas's Hospital	Father
St. Bartholomew's Hospital	Mother-in-Law
Bridewell	Father-in-Law
Livery Company	Parents
CH Foundling	Other Family
CH Staff	Grandparents
Order of Christ's Hospital Court	Other Person
Admitted by Bond	Parish
Parish	Ran Away
Corporation of the Poor	Cambridge University

⁵¹ Frank Freeman Foster, *The Politics of Stability, A Portrait of the Rulers in Elizabethan London* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1997), pp. 60-61.

Not Recorded	Oxford University
Other	Bridewell
	Discharged for not Wearing the Livery
	Sent to Sea
	To Virginia
	Back to Livery Company
	Being of Age
	Date Only
	No Information

Figure 1-3: Database categories used to collate data from treasurers' account books

Charges	Discharges
Remainder Carried Forward	Nurse Wages (In)
Old Collection	Nurse Wages (Out)
New Collection	Household Necessaries
Wardmote Collection	House Officers Wages
1599 Collection	Pensions to Poor
Legacies	Money Owed
Arrears of Legacies Received	Portions Paid
Benevolences	Extraordinary Expenses
Burial Money	Miscellaneous
Debts by Obligation	Payments out of Blackwell Hall
Other Debts Repaid	Clerks Blackwell Hall
Miscellaneous Sales	Payments out of Worsted Hall
Annuities	Fees Paid
Casual Receipts	Annuities Paid
Blackwell Hall	Prerogative Court
Bay Hall	Payments from Land
Worsted Hall	Bread
Carmen	Blewecoats
Rents	Other Clothing
Rent Arrears Paid	Cloth
Income from Land	Billets
Fines	Candles
Arrears of Fines Received	Coal
Land and Property Sales	Beer
Borrowing	Butter and Cheese
Corporation of the Poor	Fish
Total	Meat
	Other Food
	Officer Livery
	Shoes
	Purchase of Land
	Charges out of Land
	Governors Expenses
	Loan Repayment
	Legal fees
	Benevolences

	Building Maintenance
	Annuities in Arrears
	Allowances
	Debts by Obligation
	Other Debts
	Books
	Paper
	Printing
	Schooling and Teaching
	Interest Payments
	Loans
	Rent Arrears
	Exhibitions
	Apprentice Premiums
	Medical Expenses
	Sickward Expenses
	Prest Money
	Casual Payments
	River Water
	Carriage of Children to the Country
	Tithes and Excise Duties
	Corporation of the Poor
	Expenses caused by the Fire (1666)

Chapter 2 Admissions

2.1 Introduction

In the period 1563-1666, 8,744 children were admitted to Christ's Hospital. This chapter will present, and comment on, the admissions data, laying the foundation for subsequent chapters and beginning the process of seeking to determine the nature of the institution that Christ's Hospital was. In this section I will describe the sources from which the data was extrapolated before moving on in section 2.2 to examine the criteria for admission to Christ's Hospital, tracing the change over time to the admissions policy and the way in which it was applied, or from which it was deviated. Here I will present and discuss the data on the number of children admitted and map the changes over time, looking at the factors that may have influenced the number of admissions in any one year. From this it will be shown that admissions to the hospital increased in the seventeenth century, resulting in the doubling of the overall hospital population, and subsequent financial difficulties, leading to periodic attempts to restrict admissions. Section 2.3 will present demographic information on the children admitted. Gender differences will be examined here along with, where possible, the family background of the children. The age on admission of the children will be tabulated here, as well as the way in which foundlings left within the precincts of the hospital were dealt with. Section 2.4 will examine the way in which children were admitted to the hospital, discussing the main admission sources, the city parishes, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and admissions by private suit.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the importance of Christ's Hospital in the sixteenth century as a provider of poor relief to the city of London has been recognised by a number of historians, but many have downplayed its significance in the seventeenth century following the 1598 and 1601 poor laws, arguing that Christ's Hospital increasingly became the province of the 'middling sort', with admissions being taken by suit of influential persons rather than the parish poor, and that the process of transformation into a public school began in the seventeenth century.¹ It is true that

¹ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 157; Pearl, 'Puritans', in *Puritans and Revolutionaries* ed. by Pennington and Thomas, p. 213; Slack *Poverty and Policy*, p.70.

the Elizabethan poor laws altered the relationship between the parishes and the hospital by transferring control of the poor rate collections from Christ's Hospital and moving it to the parishes, resulting in a significant fall in income for the hospital. A subsequent fall in admissions resulted between 1598 and 1604, but this proved to be a temporary problem and a special collection was ordered by the Lord Mayor in these years which more than covered the money lost from the parishes.² From 1604 the parishes resumed payments to Christ's Hospital and by this time the hospital was developing other income streams and benefiting from an increasingly large property portfolio. The finances will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 6.

As noted above, the data presented here will show that over time the number of children under the care of Christ's Hospital increased substantially. The number of children that the hospital was supposed to care for was set at 400 in 1556, comprising 150 infants and 250 older children, but by 1590 the total number was 556, and reached a high point in 1658 of 1,002.³ The data also demonstrate that the vast majority of admissions came via the parish throughout the whole period of this study: between 1563 and 1666, out of a total of 8,744 admissions, 7,280 (83.28 per cent) came via a parish. There is no evidence to suggest that the hospital was moving away from its primary purpose of caring for 'the fatherless children & other poore mens children'.⁴

The primary sources of information for this chapter are the children's registers, and the court minute books. These were previously held in the Manuscripts section of Guildhall Library but have now been moved to London Metropolitan Archives. They are freely available to consult on microfilm, but the quality of the microfilm is poor and difficult to read, and I obtained permission from Christ's Hospital to view the original documents.

The children's registers contain admission and discharge data on children admitted to the hospital, and the earliest of these begins 10 April 1563. Prior to this point specific information on the children admitted is patchy, although the details of some children are recorded in the court minute book. The hospital may have started a more

² T.A., vol. 2, 1598/9-1604/5.

³ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 139; T.A., vol. 2, 1590/1; [Anon.] *The 9th day of April 1658. A true report*.

⁴ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 11.

systematic recording system in 1563 due to the poor law of that year, which conferred control of the distribution of the parish poor rate collections to the hospital. Once the collections were made, the hospital determined how much it kept for its own needs, and the remainder was disbursed back to the parish to provide outdoor relief.⁵

The first register starts with a list of 331 children already in the care of the hospital on 10 April 1563. Since these entries do not reveal the admission date of the children, they have not been included in the data analysed in this chapter. The first entry in the new register is 1 May 1563, when seven children were admitted. The first two entrants were sisters Scisselie and Margaret Lyne, daughters of John Lyne, merchant taylor, aged twelve and six. Scisselie's admission seems to have been an administrative convenience as the register records that the following day she was apprenticed to 'James Wright, Brewer'. Margaret was sent to nurse with Symon Edridge of Colliar Row in Essex; she was returned to the hospital 4 March 1563/4 where she died a few weeks later on 27 April 1564.⁶ The children's registers were compiled in this way from 1563 until 1911. Volume one has been transcribed and published by G.A.T. Allan.⁷ I have cross checked a sample of the entries in Allan's book with the original register, and they have all been accurate. In view of this I have used his published data for the period 1563-1599 in my database. All other information in the database is taken from the original source.

The children's registers were handwritten on paper and are in bound volumes, although the current binding does not appear to be original. However, I believe that they were originally written in this form, that is they were books into which the information was entered, and not loose pages that were subsequently bound into book form. They are read as a double page spread; the left-hand side lists admission information and the right-hand side discharge information. The discharge information in children's registers will form the basis for the discussion on discharges in Chapter 5. Most folios contain ten entries, but this does vary at times between eight and twelve, and there are lines ruled between each admission. Admission information generally includes: date; name; age or date of birth; father's

⁵ Archer, *Pursuit*, pp. 159-60.

⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 46.

⁷ Ibid.

name; and father's guild. Also included is information on how the child is being admitted: from a parish; by request of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; by the request of another individual; from one of the other hospitals; or as a foundling.

Children admitted to Christ's Hospital were either cared for within the precincts of the main hospital or maintained elsewhere. Younger children were sent to nurses, both within London and in the country, or were sometimes sent back to their mothers to be nursed, with payment made as in the form of family allowance. The term 'nursing' cannot be taken to imply only wet nursing, although some children clearly were sent to wet nurses: Elizabeth Sawyer was admitted aged three months on 14 May 1580 and sent to a wet nurse, Katherine Tyers, on the same day, however, Henrie Blande was aged nine when he was admitted to Christ's Hospital on 16 July 1580, and sent to the nurse Alice Wood.⁸ Until 1590 the registers usually include information on whether children were sent to nurse, although they do not always include information on when children were returned from the nurse and it is not possible to deduce whether children were maintained within the precincts of Christ's Hospital or elsewhere. After 1590 the children's registers stop recording whether children were sent to nurse. The reason for this is unclear, and I have been unable to locate this information elsewhere, although the hospital clearly continued to send children to nurse, as there are entries in the accounts relating to the payment of nurses, and also costs incurred in transporting the children to the country. The role of nurses is explored more fully in Chapter 3.

The admissions year began on 25 March, so children admitted in January or February are recorded as being admitted in the year preceding the modern calendar year. It is unclear whether entries were made directly into the register on the day of admission. In many years most of the entries have the same date, for example fifty-nine out of seventy admissions in 1618 were recorded with the date 13 April. In other parts of the registers different years are mixed together. The exact date of admission therefore may not be accurate. The admission of a foundling, Michael Orphant, is dated 16 October 1574, yet the entry describes says that he was found just over a week earlier 'in the cloister near the Petitt School door the 7 of this month in the evening'.⁹

⁸ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 158.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 126.

Although the precise date of admission may be not be accurate, the admission year generally is, apart from a few entries that were made retrospectively on discharge because the entry was not made on admission. In a few cases there is no admission date or year. Of the 8,774 admissions recorded between 1563 and 1666 twenty do not record any date information at all, and a further forty-three give only the year of admission. The entries which omit the year of admission only occur in volumes three and four, which cover the period from 1635. Most of these entries appear to be those in which the child's details were not entered on admission; when the mistake was realised, this was corrected at a later date. William Batten, for example, was entered into the register on 11 October 1653 with a note explaining that he was 'admitted about 9 yeares since and by a mistake not entered into the register till 11th October 1653, his being about 3 yeares of age when hee was first admitted'.¹⁰ Similarly, the admission of Roger Measure was only entered into the register on his discharge from the hospital on 3 August 1660 having been 'not entered by negligence of the former clerks being this 3rd August 1660 about the age of 14 yeares'.¹¹

The admission entries for any one year are usually all written by the same hand, and the name is entered into the discharge column at the time of admission. The names of the children are in a larger and bolder print than the rest of the entry. The last column on the admission side of the register is a number. Admissions were numbered consecutively beginning at the start of each year with number one. These were not always completed however, and entries made at a later date were entered without altering the numbering. It is not possible to accurately know the number of admissions in any year by just looking at the highest number. Figure 2-1 below shows an example of an entry being made out of sequence.¹²

¹⁰ C.R., vol. 3, f. 205.

¹¹ Ibid, vol. 3, f. 159.

¹² C.R., vol. 1, F. 347.

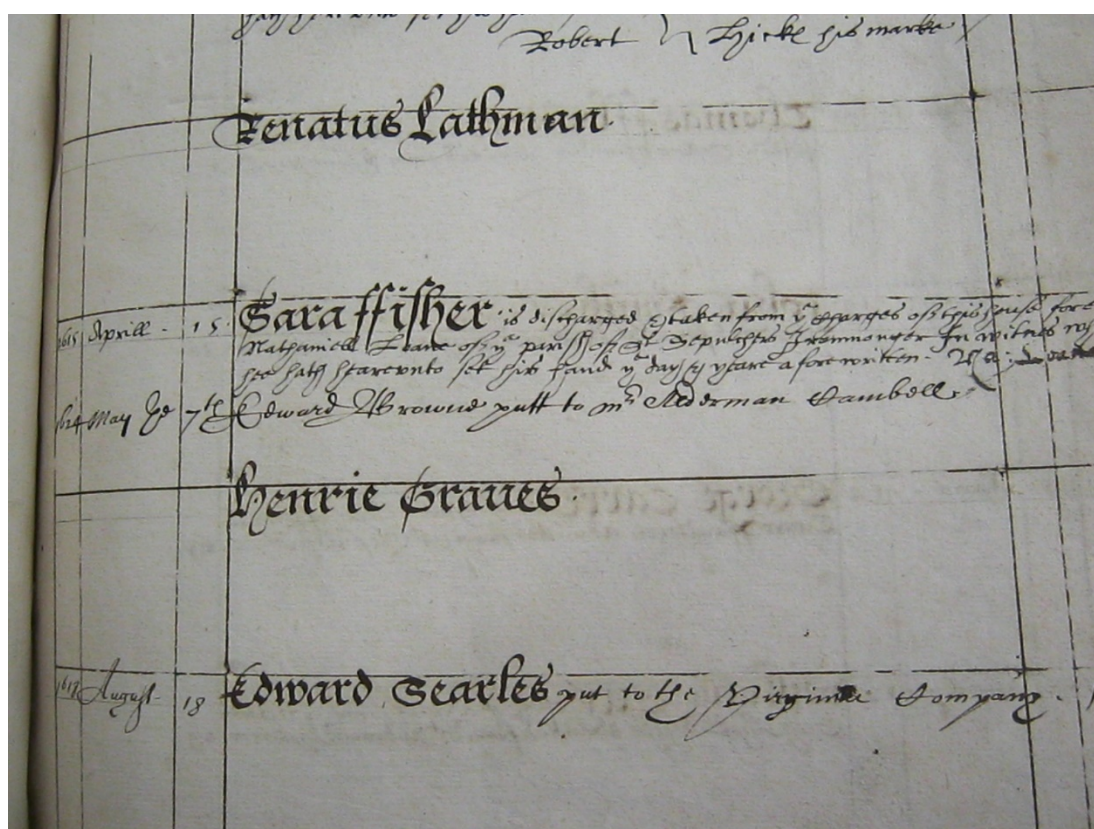
Figure 2-1: Detail of admission record showing entry made at a later date

1606	April	05	Penatus Lathman of 2 years Sonne of James Lathman. Entered admitted from St Sepulchre	57
1606	April	05	Sara ffisher of 1 year 6 months Daughter of Richard ffisher & Adlar admitted from St Sepulchre	58
1615	April	15	Edward Browne of 6 years Sonne of J. Browne & Mother, is admitted in his stead	
1606	April	05	Henric Graue of one year Sonne of John Graue & Mother admitted from St Sepulchre	5
1606	April	05	Edward Seales of 3 years Sonne of J. Seales	

The entry for Edward Browne has been added at a later date from the other entries, and the details inserted into the same space as Sara Ffisher. Browne was admitted in the place of Sara Ffisher, and on the same day that she was discharged, as shown in the corresponding discharge entry in Figure 2-2.¹³

¹³ Ibid.

Figure 2-2: Discharge entries for Sara Fisher and Edward Browne



There were usually specific reasons for one child to be admitted in the place of another: siblings were occasionally exchanged, or some legacies provided for a specific number of children to be maintained at any one time. John Lorke, for example, left £1,000 in his will of 1633 ‘to the use and bring up of poore children’,¹⁴ and children admitted under this bequest were recorded as such. The £1,000 funded eight children and when one was discharged, or died, then a new child was admitted in their place. Thomas Davies, who was admitted in 1657, was ‘one of Mr Lorks children from the parish of Michaels Bassishaw in the roome and place of Jeane Powell being discharged’.¹⁵ This type of legacy will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

The admission of children was sometimes recorded in the court minute books as well as in the children’s register and there is sometimes, but not always, a discrepancy between the dates. An entry in the court minute books lists details of seventy-eight children being admitted on 17 March 1618/19 but the children are recorded in the

¹⁴ C.M.B., vol. 4, f. 30.

¹⁵ C.R., vol. 4, f. 30.

children's register as having been admitted on 5 April 1619.¹⁶ The admission year runs from 25 March, so in this example it moves the admission date to a new year. This may have been an administrative decision to even out the number of children in each year. According to the children's register there were seventy admissions in 1618 and eighty-three admissions in 1619. If the children had been admitted in 1618 there would have been 148 admissions that year and only five in 1619. There are however also examples where the discrepancy occurs in the same admission year, and there are more years where the court minute books do not record the admission of any children at all.

A further source of admissions information is the court minute books. Like the children's registers, the court minute books are in bound volumes and are now held at London Metropolitan Archives. The function and membership of the court will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, so I will only comment here on the proceedings of the court, so far as they relate to the admission of the children.

The court decided the policy on admissions and discharges, dealt with staff who were looking after the children and decided whether or not to admit children referred to the hospital by anyone other than the city parishes. The court also granted pensions and sometimes agreed aid for children who for one reason or another they would not admit. At a court in 1614 Ellin Parker applied to the court for the admission of a 'childe of hers which was bourne out of the liberties of London and thereby not capable to be admitted. It is therefore ordered that in regarde of her greate povertie and charge of children that shee shall have a weekly pencon of xiid'.¹⁷

The court minutes also show something of the nature of the relationship with the parishes, and often the conflict between them, particularly regarding money. The finances of the hospital are discussed in Chapter 6, but particularly between 1563 and 1610, when the hospital was more reliant on funding from the parishes than from other sources, conflict occurred, and admissions were sometimes made on the condition that the parish paid a contribution. In 1604 the parish of St. Matthew Friday Street applied to the hospital for the admission of three children, which was

¹⁶ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 209; C.R., vol. 2, f. 7.

¹⁷ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 72.

agreed only on condition that the parish paid its ‘whole assessment’ and contracted to take the children back at the age of sixteen.¹⁸

One further thing to note about the court minutes is that they show the decision-making process of Christ’s Hospital. Admissions were not only made according to whether the child in question fulfilled the admission criteria, but also as to whether there was some advantage to the hospital from admitting the child. The court minutes also show a lot of inconsistency in the way in which policy was applied. In 1605 five children were admitted from St. Bride’s on the proviso that the churchwardens undertake ‘not to trouble this house with any manner of suite for any more children for 2 years’.¹⁹ This was not adhered to and the following year eight children were admitted, and the year after four. Similarly, an order of 1591 that foundlings were not to be taken in is followed by the court ordering the admission of Thomas Woodyarde, a foundling, at the next court.²⁰ This reflects the flexibility of the institution and the difficulties of maintaining rigid rules in the face of different realities. While it made sense to disallow the admission of foundlings so as not to encourage the abandonment of children, it was another thing entirely actually to refuse to take in an abandoned child.

2.2 Admissions policy

According to Stow the first children were admitted to Christ’s Hospital in November 1552 ‘to the number of almost foure hundreth’,²¹ but the origins of these first admissions is unknown. The first two recorded admissions are found in the City Repertories for 1554. The first, a foundling from St. Pancras parish, was on 13 September 1554, ‘received in to Christ’s Hospital within Newgate and there nourished up at the City’s charges’. The second was an infant born in Bethlem and sent to Christ’s on 9 December 1554.²² The names of these children were not recorded. Early entries in the court minute books reveal a rather haphazard mixture

¹⁸ Ibid. vol. 3, f. 81.

¹⁹ Ibid, vol. 3, f. 92.

²⁰ Ibid, vol. 2, f. 415.

²¹ John Stow, ‘Faringdon ward infra, or within’, in *A Survey of London. Reprinted from the Text of 1603*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), pp. 310-344, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603/pp310-344> [accessed 9 December 2017].

²² Allan, *Admissions*, p. 1.

of admissions from city parishes, referrals from other hospitals and admissions at the request of prominent citizens, as well as details of foundlings, and pensions paid to mothers for the keeping of their own children. One entry on 19 January 1556/7 is the record of one Jone Rice of Fleet Lane, who had been receiving money for the care of a child of Robert Bannester of Chertsey. Whilst continuing to receive the money from Bannester she had abandoned the child in the city – that child had then been placed at nurse by Christ’s Hospital at its charge. She had been found out by the hospital and was ordered to ‘bring forth the father of the said child or otherwise provide for it... or otherwise she to be openly punished and after to be banished the city with the said child’.²³

The admissions policy was set out by the court of Christ’s Hospital in 1556, introducing a minimum age of four years:

that ye admitte none but such as shall firste bring you a bill declaring the childe to be above the age of 4 years, and to be borne within the citie of London and the childe of a free man being destitute of all frendes and parents and in danger of present peryshinge and the same to be subscribed wyth th hande of 6 of the honestest and substauncialest persons of that parochie from whnce that childe cometh and the hande of the alderman...²⁴

The admissions policy was also ratified in 1557 in *the Order of the hospitals of King Henry VIIIth and King Edward VIth*, which stated:

There shall be no childe admitted into this hospital except it be first declared to this howse by a certificate in writing from a vestrie holden in the parish by whom the suite is made, and the same to be subscribed with the aldermen of the ward or his deputie and vi of the auncients of the same parishe at the least that the said childe was borne in lawfull Matrimone.²⁵

A caveat was added to the order: ‘That this ordinance touchinge the admittinge of children be not broken, except in cases of extremity, where loss of life and perishing would followe, if they be not receved into this said hospital.’²⁶

The admissions policy seems straightforward but, as will be seen in subsequent sections of this chapter, the ordinances were not strictly adhered to, and they can best

²³ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 1.

²⁴ C.R., vol. 1, 5 June 1563, quoted in Manzione, *Christ’s Hospital*, p. 139.

²⁵ ‘Order of the hospitals’, in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p.89.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

be seen as a set of guidelines rather than rules. The governors occasionally revisited the admissions criteria in court meetings and generally confirmed the existing criteria. For example, at a court on 24 February 1607/8:

It is ordered that according to the ancient orders of this house from henceforth no foreigners childe borne without the liberties of this citty, nor any others though their parents be free of this cittie, being borne without the said liberties, shall bee admitted children of this house, except it bee upon very great consideration.²⁷

The governors had again given themselves the leeway to break their own rules. In the very next court on 16 March 1607/8 they admitted ‘Agnis Eaton a childe of the age of two yeares and a halfe daughter of Valentine Eaton Pavyour borne in Westminster [who] is by the consent of this courte admitted a childe of this house at the special request of Mrs Hokker but now called Mrs Browne who is a good benefactor to this house’.²⁸ The relationship with benefactors, and the way in which admission regulations were relaxed when there was a perceived financial benefit to the hospital, is discussed in more depth in section 2.4 below.

The governors were also concerned that they would be able to discharge the child. In 1612 the court ordered that no one should be admitted unless a surety was given that the child could be discharged back to the person petitioning for admission when the child reached sixteen years of age.²⁹ Parishes were also subject to this stricture, and had always had to covenant to take back the children at the age of sixteen. In 1613 the discharge age was lowered to fifteen in order to allow the hospital to admit younger children.³⁰

Admissions policy was not strictly adhered to during the period of this study, and the evidence about admission criteria can be contradictory as illustrated by two petitions for admission in 1607. At a court on 5 September 1607 the governors were asked to admit an infant, Francis Bush aged one year and one month, from the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great. The admission was refused as: ‘the said childe being the childe of a forreynor and borne in the said parish which is without the liberties of this cittie cannot by the order of this house bee admitted a childe of this house’, although

²⁷ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 105.

²⁸ Ibid, f. 107.

²⁹ Ibid, f. 46.

³⁰ Ibid, f. 172.

they did grant a benevolence of twenty shillings ‘towards the education of the poore infant’. Less than three months later on 25 November 1607 they agreed to the admission of Anne Evans, an infant of nine months, also from the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, at the request of Sir Thomas Lowe, a former Lord Mayor. The admission was agreed even though, ‘the same childe was bourne in great St. Bartholomews it was thought... contrary to the orders of this house but in the end the governors seeing the misery of the woman and to gratify Ser Thomas Lowe have ordered that the same childe shall bee admitted a childe of this house’.³¹ The relationship between the hospital and influential citizens will be discussed more fully below.

The minimum age for admission (four years) was also a requirement that was consistently broken, as will be seen in section 2:4, although John Howes implies that the hospital was always intended to provide care for younger children: ‘The Governors devised that the sucking children & such as for want of years were not able to learne shoulde be kepte in the Countreye & allwaies at Easter brought home’.³²

Figure 2-3 below shows a straightforward count of admissions per year, excluding twenty admissions where the year is not recorded, from which it can be seen that there were marked fluctuations in the number of children admitted per year. Figure 2-4 shows the number of admissions categorised in three roughly equal time periods: 1563-99, 1600-33 and 1634-66. An increase in admissions can clearly be seen throughout these three periods, growing from 2,803 during 1563-99 to 2,885 during 1600-33 (an increase of 2.93 per cent). This further increased to 3,036 in the period 1634-66 (a 5.23 per cent increase from 1600-33).

³¹ Ibid, ff. 102, 105.

³² Howes, *Manuscript*, p.12.

Figure 2-3: Admissions by year (n=8,724)

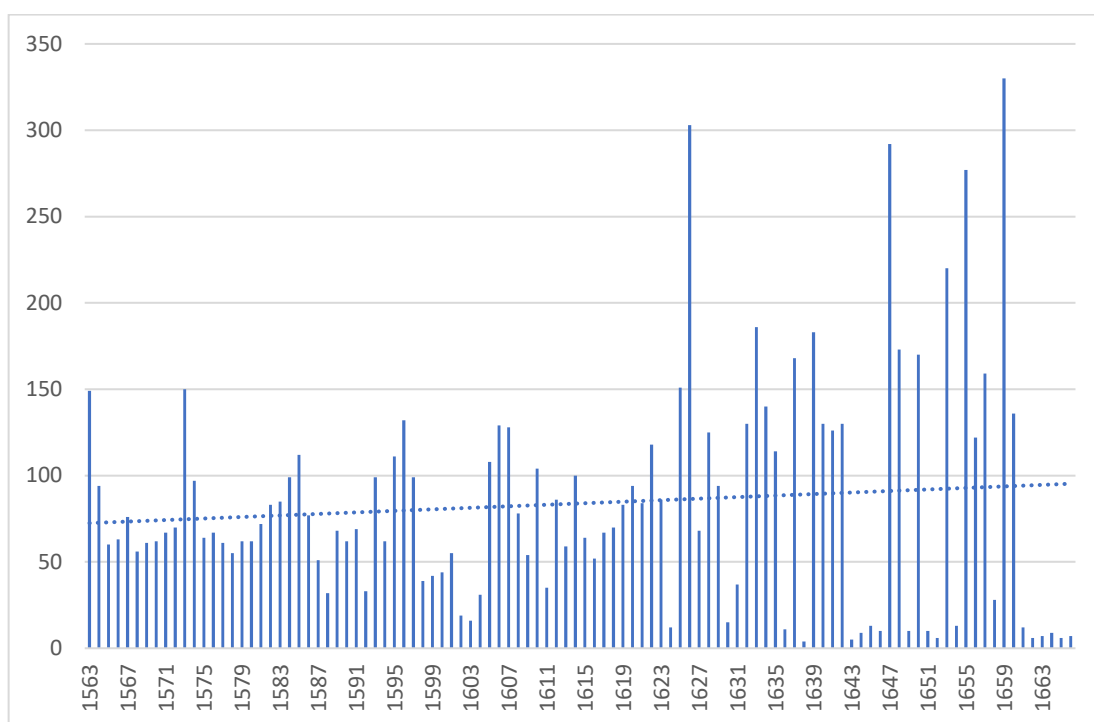
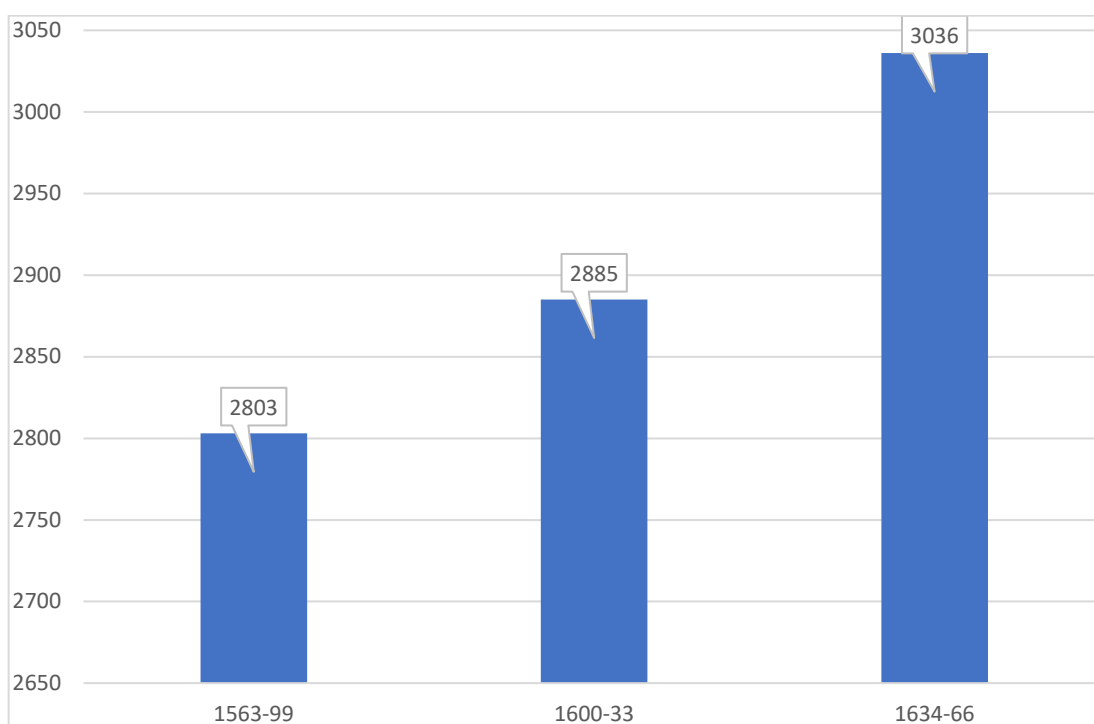


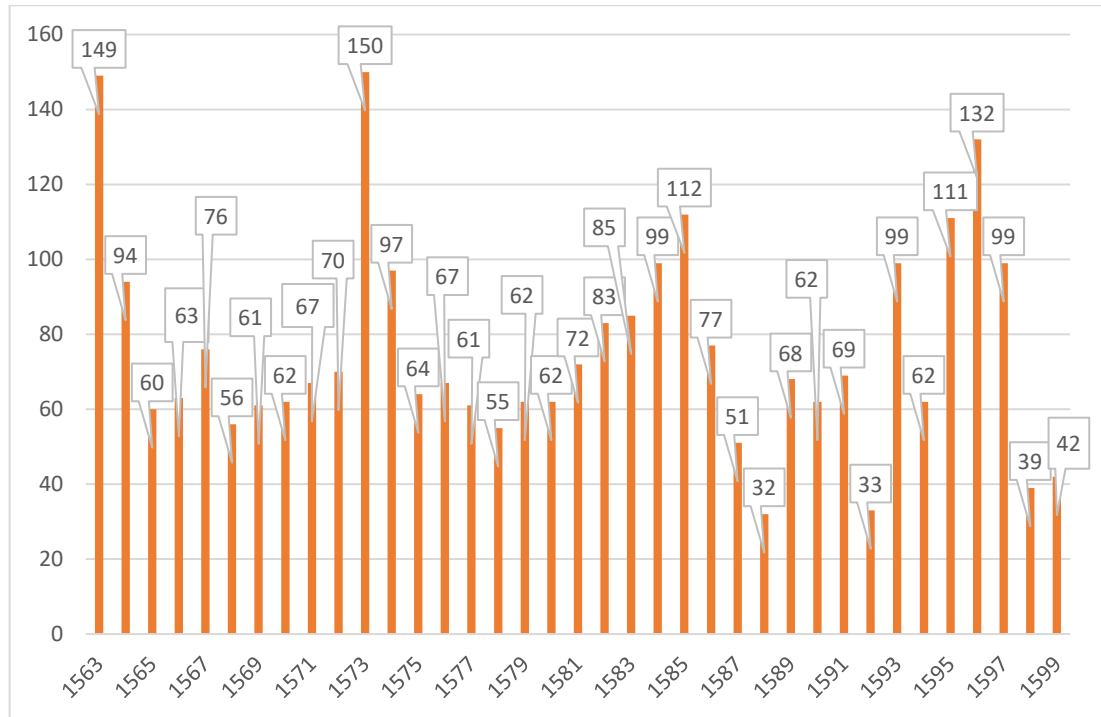
Figure 2-4: Admissions 1563-99, 1600-33 and 1634-66 (n=8,724)



The increasing number of admissions during the seventeenth century is unsurprising given the growth in the size of London's population. As noted earlier, historians have shown the growth in the population of the metropolis, and it has been estimated that

the population within the city increased from 80,000 in 1560 to 135,000 in 1640.³³ When the admissions data is looked at on an annual basis, wide fluctuations in the number of admissions per year can be seen, as shown in Figures 2-5 to 2-8.

Figure 2-5: Total admissions per year 1563-99 (n=2,803)



A temporary fall in the number of admissions can be noted between 1598 and 1604, as shown in Figure 2-6 below, corresponding to changes in the way poor relief was collected following the 1598 and 1601 poor laws, which moved control of the collections away from the hospital to the parishes. The Elizabethan poor laws are not the only factor in explaining the fall in admission rates. The hospital was facing a financial crisis; price inflation was 43 per cent between the 1560s and 1590s,³⁴ leading the hospital to restrict admissions. The governors imposed a temporary moratorium on admissions in July 1595: ‘Between this and bartholomewetide (24 August) next coming or untill yt shall please god things are become more cheap’.³⁵ This ban on admissions was implemented and the next admission was on 27 August 1595, just after Bartholomew tide. There were no further admissions until 4 October 1595 after which there were a further sixty-three children admitted in the 1595/6

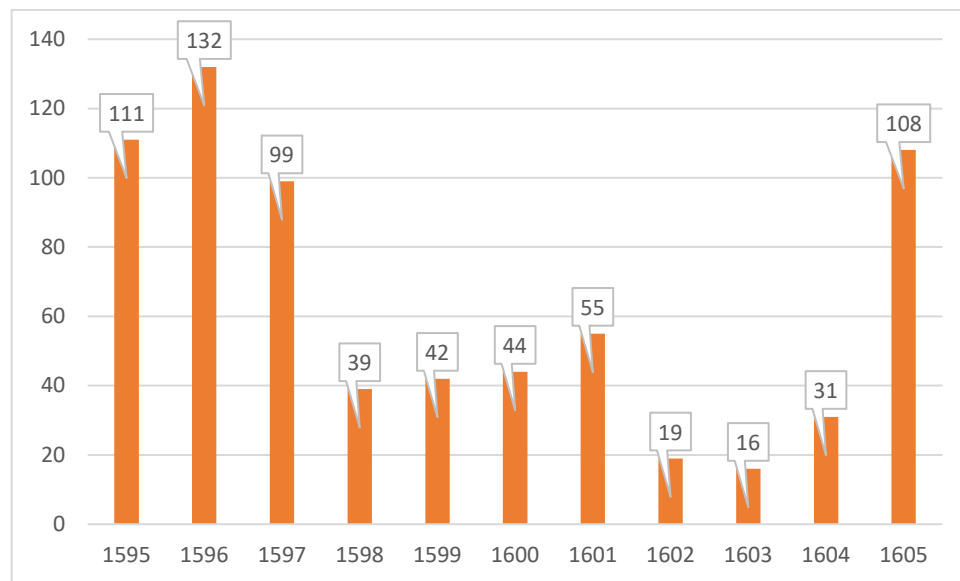
³³ Roger Finlay, and Beatrice Shearer, ‘Population growth and suburban expansion’ in *London 1500-1700*, ed. by Beier and Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), p. 42.

³⁴ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 162.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 158.

admission year.³⁶ Intermittent restrictions on admissions continued: at a court on 22 July 1601 it was agreed that ‘all persons that were petitioned to this court for the admittance of children are putt off for one monthe’.³⁷ Another potential reason for the fluctuating numbers of admissions from year to year is the sometimes difficult relationship the hospital had with the parishes. This will be discussed more fully in section 2.4 below.

Figure 2-6: Total admissions 1595-1605 (n=696)



³⁶ Alan, *Admissions*, pp. 241-5.

³⁷ C.M.B., vol. 3. f. 56.

Figure 2-7: Total admissions per year 1600-33 (n=2,885)

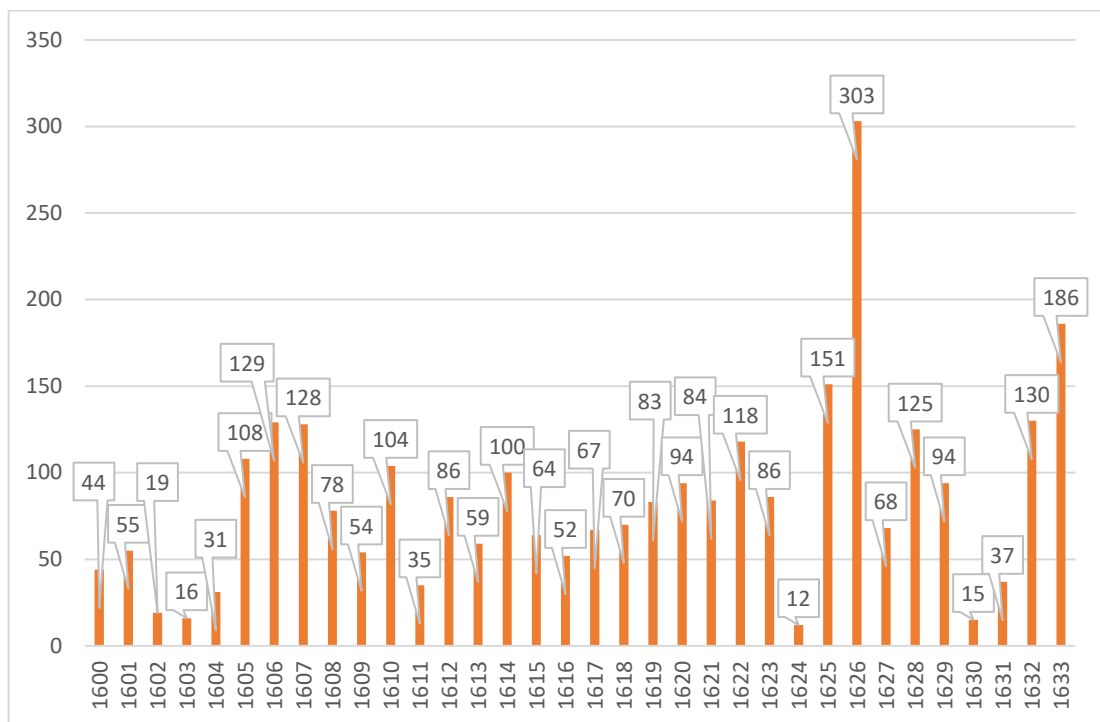
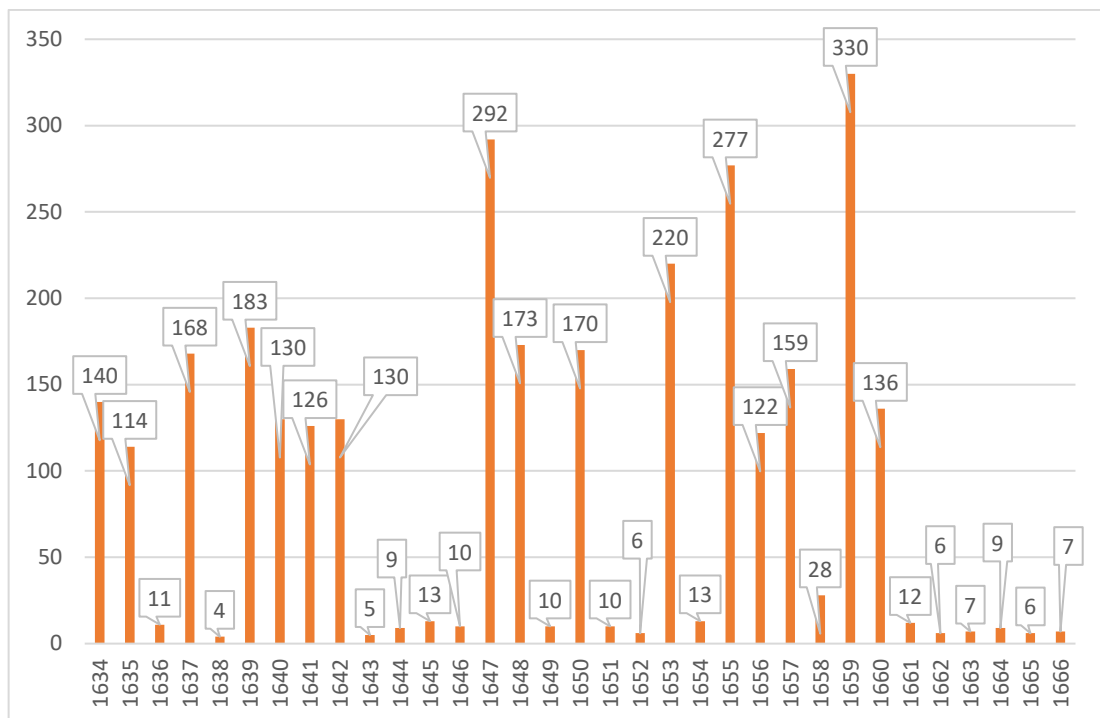


Figure 2-8: Total admissions per year 1634-66 (n=3,036)



The Christ's Hospital court decided at the end of each year how many admissions they were going to take in the following year, based on a report by the treasurer.

There is, however, often a discrepancy between the decision made by the court and the actual admission number. At the first court in the admission year 1649/50 it was agreed that the number of children to be admitted that year would be eighty,³⁸ yet the children's register records only ten admissions for that year. Similarly, it was agreed at a court on 28 January 1652/3 that '100 children and no more should be taken in this yeare next',³⁹ but the actual number admitted was 220. As noted above, it is striking when looking at the admissions by year that the numbers can fluctuate dramatically from one year to the next. Some of these fluctuations in the seventeenth century can be explained by external political events. The admission numbers in the 1640s mirror the progress of the English Civil War, with numbers falling sharply in 1643. Of the 130 admissions in 1642, all but two were recorded in April. Of the two noted in December that year, one was a foundling. Admissions increased again in 1647 following the end of the first war, falling again on the resumption of hostilities.

Availability of funds and the numbers of children already admitted also account for the fluctuating admission numbers for some years. At a court on 27 January 1653/4 it was ordered: 'That in regard this hospitall the last yeare tooke in 200 children and that there is now at least 750 upon present Charge and in regard the meanes of this Hospitall is but small that there shall be no children taken in for the yeare next ensuing.'⁴⁰ The following year (1654/5) there were only thirteen admissions. The number of children being looked after by the hospital peaked at 1,002 in 1658,⁴¹ and after that efforts were made to reduce the numbers which had become financially unsustainable. In 1663 'Mr Treasurer acquainted the court that his intent was to lessen the great number of children at present in this hospital'.⁴²

2.3 Demography

The gender of thirty-two children could not be determined from the admissions registers. Twenty-six of these were foundlings named after the parish in which they were abandoned. Dionis Churchyard, for example, was admitted on 21 May 1600

³⁸ C.M.B., vol. 5, p. 4.

³⁹ Ibid, p.204.

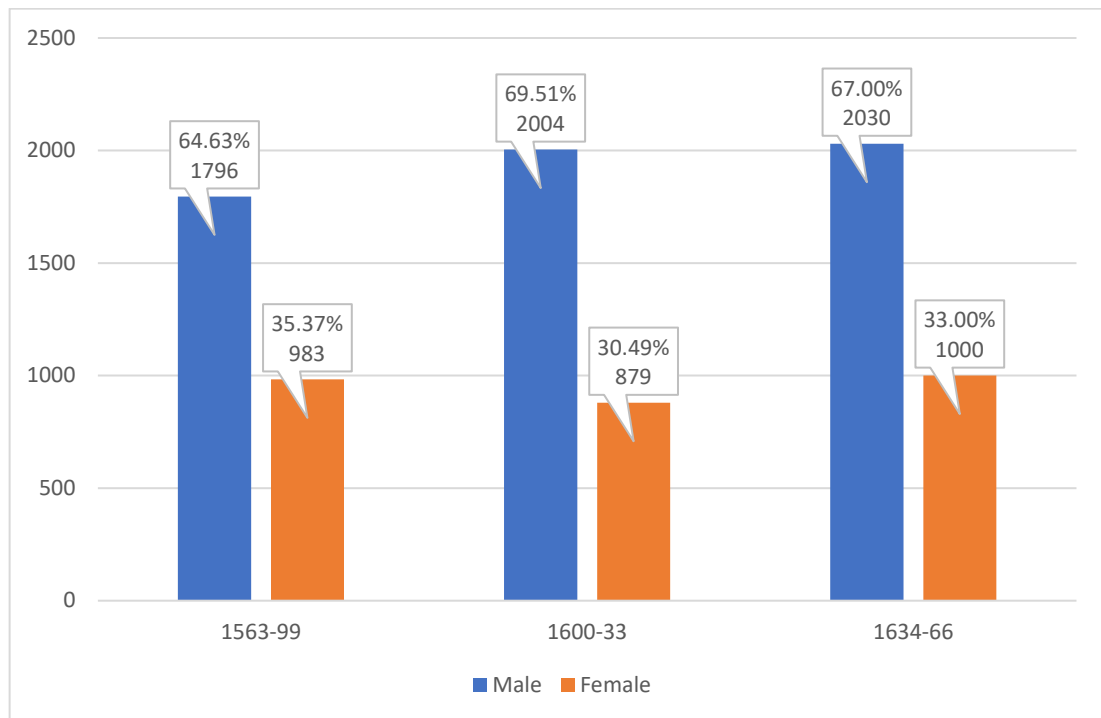
⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 269.

⁴¹ [Anon.], *The 9th day of April 1658. A true report of the great number of poor children.*

⁴² C.M.B., vol. 6 f. 141.

from St. Dionis Backchurch parish.⁴³ The other six are children with names that could either be male or female. The children of unknown gender have been excluded from the data used in Figures 2-9 and 2-10. The number of boys admitted to Christ's Hospital exceeded the number of girls by a ratio of approximately 2:1, as shown in Figure 2-9.

Figure 2-9: Gender ratio of admissions (n=8,692)



The reason for the bias towards boys is unclear: there are no references to preferred gender in the admissions policies, and it cannot be explained by differences in the birth rate. John Graunt reported that in the period 1629-1644 there were 270,648 baptisms in London, 139,782 of which were boys, and 130,866 girls, a ratio of approximately 52:48.⁴⁴ The preponderance of boys over girls is more likely explained by societal attitudes to boys and the perceived benefits of investing in the advancement of boys rather than girls. Christ's Hospital provided not just education but also the opportunity of an apprenticeship at the end, or, for a small number of boys, the possibility of a university education. Margaret Pelling has also noted the bias towards boys in the Norwich Children's Hospital, founded in 1621. Although

⁴³ C.R., vol. 1, f. 318.

⁴⁴ John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations, Mentioned in a following Index and made upon the Bills of Mortality* (London, 1662), p. 44.

the hospital was intended to care for both boys and girls it almost exclusively admitted boys until the Commonwealth period, boys being more likely to be potentially troublesome on the streets if out of parental control, yet with potential to become heads of a household in time.⁴⁵

It can be seen in Figure 2-10 that the gender bias towards boys was more pronounced in admissions taken at the request of individuals, rather than parish admissions; in the period 1634-66 102 of 126 (80.95 per cent) admissions from this source were male. These individuals were usually wealthy benefactors or civic dignitaries, and will be discussed in more depth in section 2.4 below, but the data indicate that these well-heeled patrons favoured boys as a target for their patronage.

Figure 2-10: Admission numbers and ratios from the main admission sources by gender and time period (n=7,908)

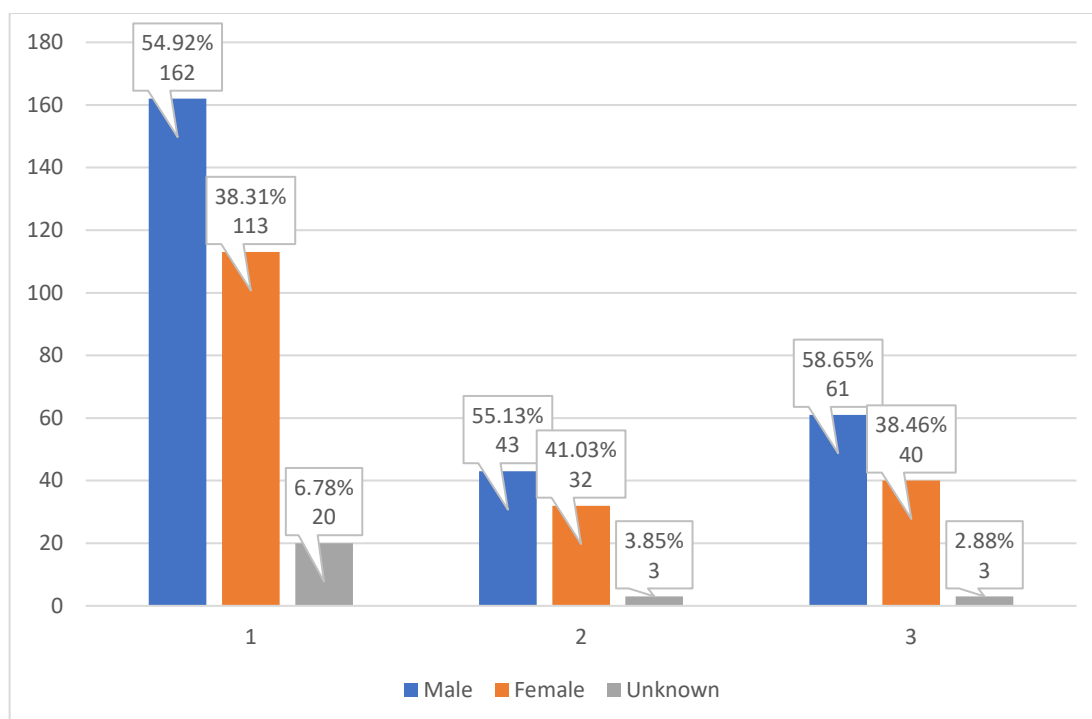
		Parish	Lord Mayor & Court Aldermen	Request Other
1563-99	Male	1465	112	52
	%	64.71	70.89	72.22
	Fem	799	46	20
	%	35.29	29.11	27.78
1600-33	Male	1683	49	144
	%	69.12	70.00	78.26
	Fem	752	21	40
	%	30.88	30.00	21.74
1634-66	Male	1673	13	102
	%	64.82	72.22	80.95
	Fem	908	5	24
	%	35.18	27.78	19.05

Figure 2-11 shows that the gender distribution of foundlings also favoured boys over girls, although to a slightly lesser extent with a ratio of approximately 60:40. This differs from studies of European foundlings, which have shown that more girls were abandoned than boys in the early modern period. The reasons for this, as noted above, may also include the perception that parish authorities would invest more care and education in a male child. Valerie Fildes also speculates that girls were considered less expensive and less trouble to bring up, and also more useful than

⁴⁵ Margaret Pelling, 'Child Health as a Social Value in Early Modern England', *Social History of Medicine*, 1.2 (1988), p. 143.

boys in carrying out household chores and caring for younger children in larger households.⁴⁶

Figure 2-11: Gender of foundlings (n=477)



Children's ages were recorded in the admissions register. For children under one year, ages were given in days, weeks or months; children above the age of one were generally described in years only, or for younger children occasionally by a fraction of a year as well. Jone Smithe and John Norris were both admitted on 15 April 1564 and were recorded as being $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ respectively.⁴⁷ The ages of foundlings were sometimes estimated: Valentine Woodyarde, admitted on 23 February 1571/2, was described as 'a young infant very weak being laid at the woodyard door of this house of the age of 5 or 6 weeks old',⁴⁸ although a lot of the ages entered appear to be very precise. Foster Cheapeside was admitted on 22 May 1563 and described as 'a manchild of twelve weeks old found on a stall in Cheap', whilst Buttolphe Algat, 'left in Houndsditch', was admitted on 2 November 1583 with his age entered as seven weeks.⁴⁹ None of the entries for foundlings gives corroborating evidence for

⁴⁶ Valerie Fildes, 'Maternal feelings re-assessed: child abandonment and neglect in London and Westminster, 1550-1800', in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. by Valerie Fildes (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 151, 154.

⁴⁷ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 58.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 103.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 48, 180.

such precise knowledge of the ages of the children, such as a note being left with the child, although age may have been determined by the parishes in which the children were found.

As discussed above the minimum age for admission was set at four years, but as Figure 2-12 shows, the average age on admission of girls was less than four in the period 1563-1633.

Figure 2-12: Average age on admission (n=8,513)

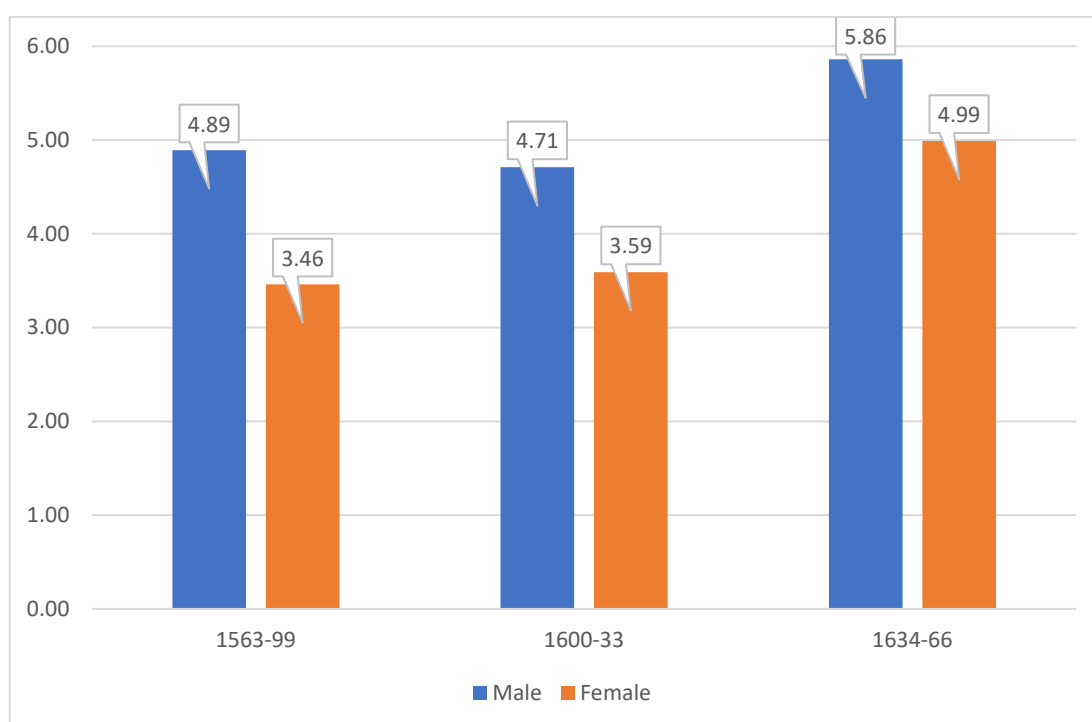


Figure 2-13 shows the average age on admission data broken down into four age groups: under four; four to eight; nine to thirteen; and over thirteen. From this, it can be seen that the number of younger children admitted decreased over time. In the period 1563-99, 737 boys (41.88 per cent) and 593 girls (61.23 per cent) were below the age of four on admission. This decreased to 689 boys (35.28 per cent) and 455 girls (52.91 per cent) in the period 1600-33, falling further to 418 boys (20.97 per cent), and 262 girls (26.73 per cent) in the period 1634-66. The data show increasing numbers of children being admitted between the ages of four and eight, increasing from 738 boys (41.93 per cent) and 288 girls (29.78 per cent) between 1563 and 1599, to 1,130 boys (57.86 per cent) and 390 girls (45.35 per cent) in the period 1600-33. The numbers further increased in the period 1634-66 to 1276 boys (64.02 per cent), and 650 girls (66.33 per cent). The Norwich Children's Hospital, and

earlier poor relief schemes, also focused on children between the ages of five and twelve, being the age range in which children had both the potential to be problematic to city authorities, and also the potential to become useful citizens in later life.⁵⁰

As discussed in section 2.2, a minimum age of four years was specified as requirement for admission in 1556, albeit with a caveat that allowed the hospital to break its own policy in extreme cases. Although the data shows that the proportion of children admitted below the age of four decreased over time, the admissions policy actually became more flexible over time, reflecting the reality that the hospital rarely enforced its own rules. On 3 May 1623 the Christ's Hospital court ordered that 'from henceforth noe child or children under the age of 4 yeares shall be admitted from any great Parsonage by letter or otherwise except the same bee the childe of a free man of London and borne within the said citie',⁵¹ effectively allowing admissions below the age of four. The minimum age was reduced to three years on 24 March 1640/1 when the court ordered that 'no Child or Children shall be admitted into this house at the suite of any parishe or person whatsoever, except it bee of the age of 3 years or more'.⁵²

⁵⁰ Pelling, 'Child Health', p. 143.

⁵¹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 300.

⁵² Pearce, *Annals*, p. 41.

Figure 2-13: Average age on admission by age range (n=8,513)

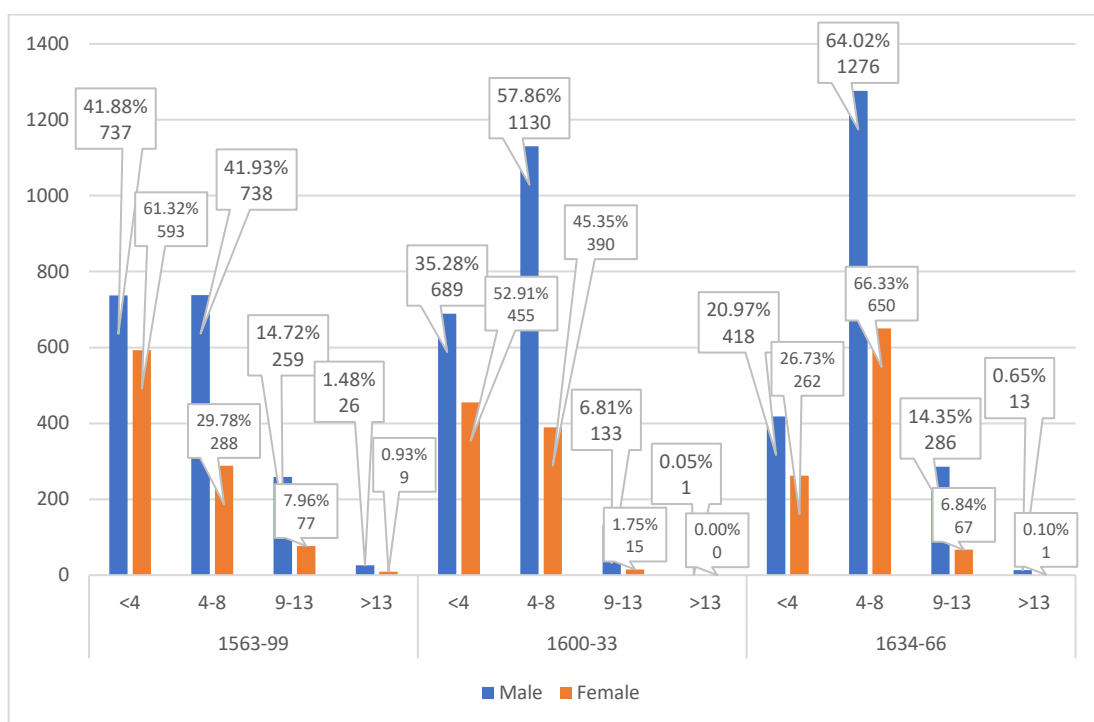
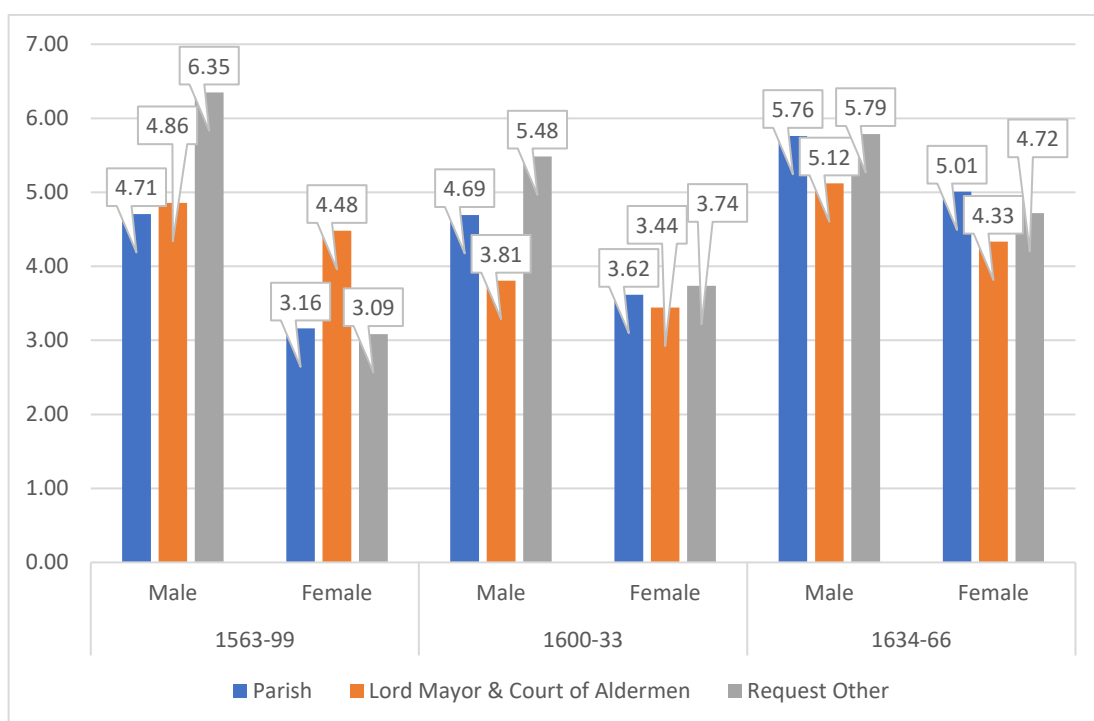


Figure 2-14: Average age on admission from main referral sources (n=7,769)



A requirement for admission to Christ's Hospital was that children were the sons or daughters of freemen of the city, and accordingly the guild membership of the child's

father was entered in the admission register. This allows us to gain an insight into the occupational backgrounds of the fathers of the children who were admitted. Some 6,868 (78.55 per cent) admission entries contain this information.

A full list of the recorded occupation or guild of fathers, divided into eight occupational categories – cloth and clothing, victualling, metal, wood, leather, construction, professional and miscellaneous – is shown in Figures 2.23-2.25 in the appendix to this chapter, and a summary of the data is shown in Figures 2-15 and 2-16 below.⁵³ From this it can be seen that the largest occupational group of the fathers was cloth and clothing, and the largest livery company represented was the Merchant Taylors. One thing to note from this is that, of the ten companies shown in Figure 2-15, five – the Merchant Taylors', the Clothworkers', the Haberdashers', the Drapers', and the Goldsmiths' – are amongst the twelve great livery companies. Rappaport, however, notes that in many ways the Merchant Taylors' and the Clothworkers' Companies were more akin to the lesser companies. Although they were both very large, and counted many wealthy citizens amongst their members, they were made up primarily of poorer men working as cloth finishers or craftsmen in the cloth and clothing industries.⁵⁴ The data also shows an increasing number of children with fathers who were members of the Weavers' Company, increasing from twenty-eight (1.6 per cent) in the period 1563-99, to 114 (4.46 per cent) between 1600 and 1633, and to 220 (8.59 per cent) in the period 1634-66. This reflects the increasing size of the Weavers' Company during this period. Ian Archer has noted that in 1546 the company's election dinner was open to all members above the level of journeyman, but in 1579 attendance was restricted to members of the livery and their spouses due to the increased size of the membership.⁵⁵

Figure 2-15: Ten most common guilds of fathers of children admitted to Christ's Hospital (n=3,633)

	1563-99	% Total	1600-33	% Total	1634-66	% Total
Merchant Taylor	224	12.78	472	18.47	417	16.29
Clothworker	149	8.5	228	8.92	191	7.46

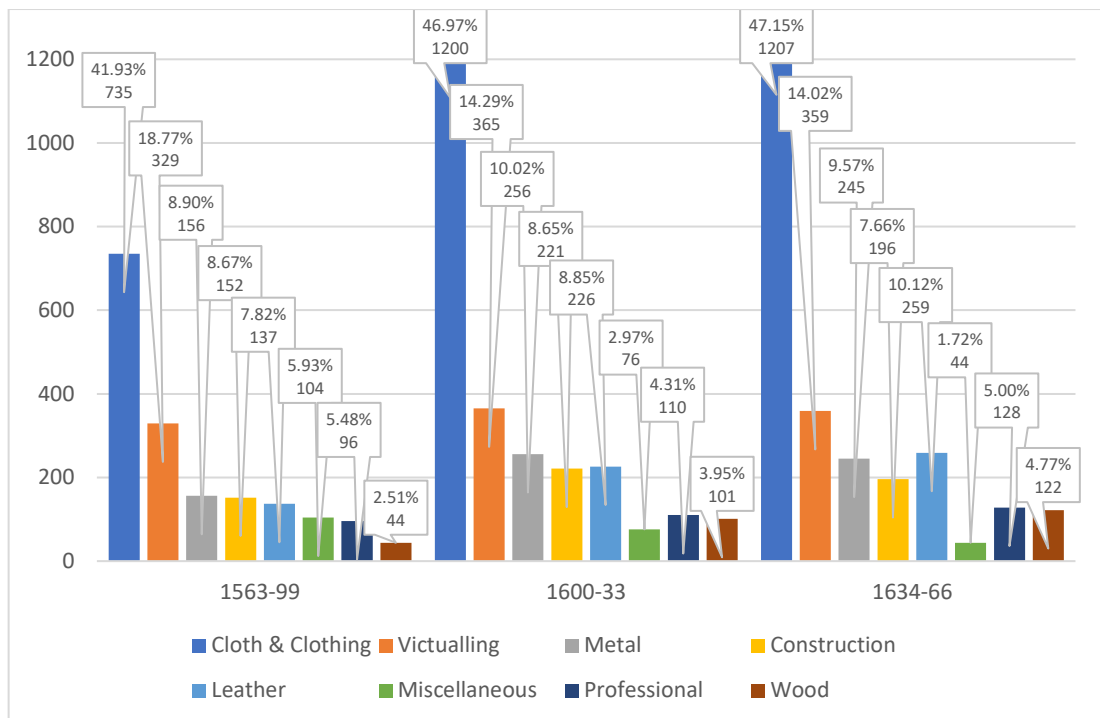
⁵³ The classification of occupations follows Rappaport, *Worlds*, p. 92 but with minor modifications.

⁵⁴ Rappaport, *Worlds*, pp. 303-4.

⁵⁵ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 118.

Weaver	28	1.6	114	4.46	220	8.59
Haberdasher	98	5.59	173	6.77	164	6.41
Cordwainer	30	1.71	126	4.93	146	5.7
Draper	72	4.11	93	3.64	95	3.71
Goldsmith	39	2.22	73	2.86	47	1.84
Blacksmith	11	0.63	57	2.23	67	2.62
Carpenter	38	2.17	64	2.5	53	2.07
Joiner	34	1.94	55	2.15	55	2.15

Figure 2-16: Occupational categories of fathers of children admitted to Christ's Hospital (n=6,868)



The prominence of cloth and clothing trades in the data is unsurprising given the importance of the industry to London's economy in the early modern period. Rappaport's analysis of men sworn as citizens during 1551-3 showed that just over 40 per cent were members of companies within the cloth and clothing industries, and the Christ's Hospital data mirrors Rappaport's findings.⁵⁶ In the period 1563-99, 41.93 per cent of fathers, where company affiliation is known, were members of

⁵⁶ Rappaport, *Worlds*, p. 92.

companies within the cloth and clothing sector. This increased in the seventeenth century to 46.97 per cent between 1600 and 1633, and 47.15 per cent in the period 1634-66.

Christ's Hospital was not intended to be a foundling hospital in the manner of the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence, or Thomas Coram's later foundling hospital in London, but children were abandoned in the city at large and within the precincts of Christ's Hospital itself. Valerie Fildes has shown, from an analysis of baptisms in seven London parishes, that abandonment of infants increased during the first half of the seventeenth century, increasing from 0.8 per cent of baptisms in the 1590s to 4.1 per cent in the 1660s. This is likely to be an underestimate of the number of abandonments due to the under-recording of foundling baptisms and Fildes found that very few of the foundlings admitted to Christ's Hospital from London parishes in the sixteenth century could be located in parish registers.⁵⁷

Figure 2-17 below shows the number of foundlings admitted to Christ's Hospital in three periods, 1563-99, 1600-33 and 1634-66. A number of older children who might be described as foundlings have been excluded from the data in Figure 2-17, as it is not clear whether they were actually 'abandoned' children, as the beadles of Christ's Hospital periodically 'rounded up' children from the streets.

Figure 2-17: Number of foundlings admitted by referral source (n=474)

	1563-99	1600-33	1634-66
Parish	218	39	1
Christ's Hospital	33	29	98
Lord Mayor & Court of Aldermen	15	5	0
Request Other	4	2	0
Other Hospital	3	2	3
Unknown	20	1	1
Total	293	78	103
% Total Admissions	10.45	2.70	3.39

Foundlings were admitted from various sources according to the location of their abandonment. Those found in a particular parish became the responsibility of that

⁵⁷ Fildes, 'Maternal feelings', pp. 141-6.

parish, although efforts were made to locate the mother. Foundlings were usually baptised and temporary care arranged until a wet nurse could be located for the child, or in some cases until admission to Christ's Hospital could be arranged, the hospital then finding a wet nurse, either in London, or more often in the country. The use of wet nurses in the care of the children will be examined more closely in Chapter 3. By the end of the sixteenth century the hospital was reluctant to admit foundlings and this is reflected in the admissions data, which shows that the number of parish foundlings admitted dropped considerably during the seventeenth century. An order was made at a court on 18 September 1591 that foundlings should not be admitted so as not to encourage the abandonment of children.⁵⁸ Between 1620 and 1660 there were at least ten, and possibly as many as fourteen, foundlings in St. Olave Jewry and none were sent to Christ's Hospital.⁵⁹

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen also ordered the admission of some foundlings, particularly during the sixteenth century. Andrew Morefield was 'sent in by the Lord Mayor' on 7 April 1587, aged six weeks, having been 'left in Moorfields among a number of Irish people'.⁶⁰ Several children abandoned near the Lord Mayor's residence were also admitted in this way. Johan Goodfriday was admitted aged eight weeks on 14 April 1578 as 'an infant whose parents are unknown laid near my Lord Mayors door in Lombard Street upon Good Friday', and Thomas Lymestreete was 'left at the Lord Mayors gate', aged six weeks, and admitted to the hospital on 10 April 1581.⁶¹ The Court of Aldermen also seems to have been appealed to by the parish of St. Olave's, Southwark, in order to get Christ's Hospital to accept foundling admissions from them. Olave Left, a foundling aged six months from St. Olave parish in Southwark, was 'admitted from that parish by order of court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen', on 28 November 1590.⁶²

The data shows that the governors were successful in enforcing the policy of not admitting foundlings from outside the hospital precincts during the seventeenth century, but they could not completely stop infants being abandoned within the

⁵⁸ C.M.B., vol.2, f. 415.

⁵⁹ Linda Hayner, 'Foundlings of St. Olave Jewry, 1620-60', *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (2001), p. 92.

⁶⁰ Alan, *Admissions*, p. 206.

⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 147, 169.

⁶² Ibid, p. 222.

precincts. The porters and beadles of the hospital were on occasion admonished for not being diligent enough in preventing the abandonment of children. At a court on 27 November 1661 Thomas Ffuller and Thomas Smith, beadles, were disciplined for being ‘somewhat remiss in their places, and did not doe their duties in looking to the cloysters, by reason whereof 6 or 7 children have bene lately laid downe in the Cloysters since Easter left to the charge of this hospital’. They were ordered to ‘appeare every day in the winter time in the Cloyster at 3 of the clocke in the afternoone and should continue therin till 6 of the clocke to provent the laying downe of Children’.⁶³ At the same court Henry Bannister, porter, was likewise admonished for not checking the gates of the hospital both morning and evening ‘by reason thereof many Children are laid downe to the great charge of this hospital’.⁶⁴ The court considered sacking him, but in the end gave him a warning to improve.

The names given to foundlings often reflected the place where they were found, or the fact that they are foundlings. Olave Left, Randall Pountney, and William Aldermanburie were admitted as foundlings from St. Olave Southwark, St. Lawrence Pountney and St. Mary Aldermanbury parishes on 28 November 1590, 2 October 1596 and 2 April 1605.⁶⁵ Martin Afoundling was admitted on 2 October 1596, and Thomas Freindlese was abandoned at Christ’s Hospital on 27 May 1645.⁶⁶ Eighteen children are recorded in the admissions registers with the surnames of Lodge or Lodgedore who were left at the lodge of the hospital, and thirteen children with the surname Cloister, having been left in the cloisters of the hospital.

Children were sometimes named after the person who found them. On 10 July 1639 Robert Ffinch was admitted ‘so named, being left in the cloisters at 8 of the clocke at night, the gates being not shut by Robert ... porter nor Thomas Ffinch’, and Elizabeth Baker was named after Ralph Baker, the beadle who found her, on 18 September 1652.⁶⁷

Notes giving details of the child were sometimes left with the abandoned child. Ralph Draper, left in the hospital on 19 June 1654 aged four, had a note with him

⁶³ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 72.

⁶⁴ Ibid, f. 73.

⁶⁵ Allan, *Admissions*, pp. 222, 249; C.R., vol. 1, f. 339.

⁶⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 249; C.R., vol. 3, f. 90.

⁶⁷ C.R., vol. 3, f. 48, f. 183.

saying: ‘My name is Ralph I am not base borne, neither father nor Mother I have none, pray to the lord god of mercy to send some friends to helpe mee for heere in this place I am left all alone.’ Similarly Edmond Shooe was found on 14 October 1659 with a note declaring: ‘My mother is both sick and poore, therefore she lay mee at your door, for I am a child of good degree, therefore goode people take pity on me. My name is Edmond’.⁶⁸

Figure 2-18: Ages of foundlings in years on admission (n=429)

	Age	<1	1	2	3	4	5	>5	Total
1563-99	Male	93	26	10	11	5	1	8	154
	% Total	60.39	16.88	6.49	7.14	3.25	0.65	5.19	100
	Female	73	17	7	9	4	2	2	114
	% Total	64.04	14.91	6.14	7.89	3.51	1.75	1.75	100
1600-33	Male	16	10	4	1	4	1	2	38
	% Total	42.11	26.32	10.53	2.63	10.53	2.63	5.26	100
	Female	13	10	1	1	0	1	1	27
	% Total	48.15	37.04	3.70	3.70	0.00	3.70	3.70	100
1634-66	Male	25	17	7	5	4	0	2	60
	% Total	41.67	28.33	11.67	8.33	6.67	0.00	3.33	100
	Female	21	5	8	0	1	0	1	36
	% Total	58.33	13.89	22.22	0.00	2.78	0.00	2.78	100

The children’s register only records the age at which the child was admitted to Christ’s Hospital, so it is not possible to know the age at which the child was abandoned unless they were actually left at Christ’s Hospital. Of the 162 children found within the precincts, only 148 entries record the approximate age of the child. The average age was 1.06 years and the median 0.63.

2.4 Methods of admission

The three main routes by which a child could be admitted to Christ’s Hospital were via a parish, by referral from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, or at the request of an individual, usually a benefactor to the hospital or a prominent citizen. Figure 2-19 shows the number of admissions from different sources in three time periods: 1563-99; 1600-33; and 1634-66. It also shows the ratio to total admissions in each time period, and from all referral sources. The data shows that for all time

⁶⁸ Ibid, f. 203; C.R., vol. 4, f. 35.

periods the parish was the most important source of admissions, accounting for 81.48 per cent in the period 1563-99, 84.47 per cent between 1600 and 1633, and 84.06 per cent in the period 1634-66. As previously discussed, some historians have speculated that Christ's Hospital was moving away from its original purpose by the mid seventeenth century, and was already transitioning into a public school, rather than a hospital.⁶⁹ If this were the case then it might be expected that admissions from parishes would decrease over time, and private suits for admissions would increase, although it is possible that this trend may have been seen in day pupils admitted to the grammar school, although there is little data on this. The grammar school will be examined in section 3.4. The data in figure 2-19 shows that the ratio of parish admissions actually increased slightly in the seventeenth century. It is true that the ratio of admissions by request increased over time, but this was matched by a corresponding decrease in admissions from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and it is likely that the increase in private suits is the result of aldermen making request directly to the hospital, rather than using the Court of Aldermen.

Figure 2-19: Number of admissions and ratio to total admissions from all referral sources (n=8,724)

Referral Source	1563-99	%	1600-33	%	1634-66	%
Parish	2284	81.48	2437	84.47	2552	84.06
Lord Mayor & Ct. Aldermen	161	5.74	70	2.43	18	0.59
Request Other	74	2.64	198	6.86	157	5.17
Other Hospital	66	2.35	32	1.11	16	0.53
Order of CH Court	46	1.64	46	1.59	8	0.26
CH Foundling	33	1.18	29	1.01	99	3.26
CH Staff	8	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.03
Corporation of the Poor	0	0.00	0	0.00	119	3.92
Unknown	131	4.67	73	2.53	66	2.17
Total	2803	100.00	2885	100.00	3036	100.00

Some admission arrangements were complex, and involved more than one party, as the example of Sara Ware illustrates. She was admitted 31 October 1590 from St. Margaret's Fish Street parish, but by order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen:

with order by him set down that the parishioners of St Margarets in Fish Street shall pay 6d weekly, and John Ware uncle to the same child to pay

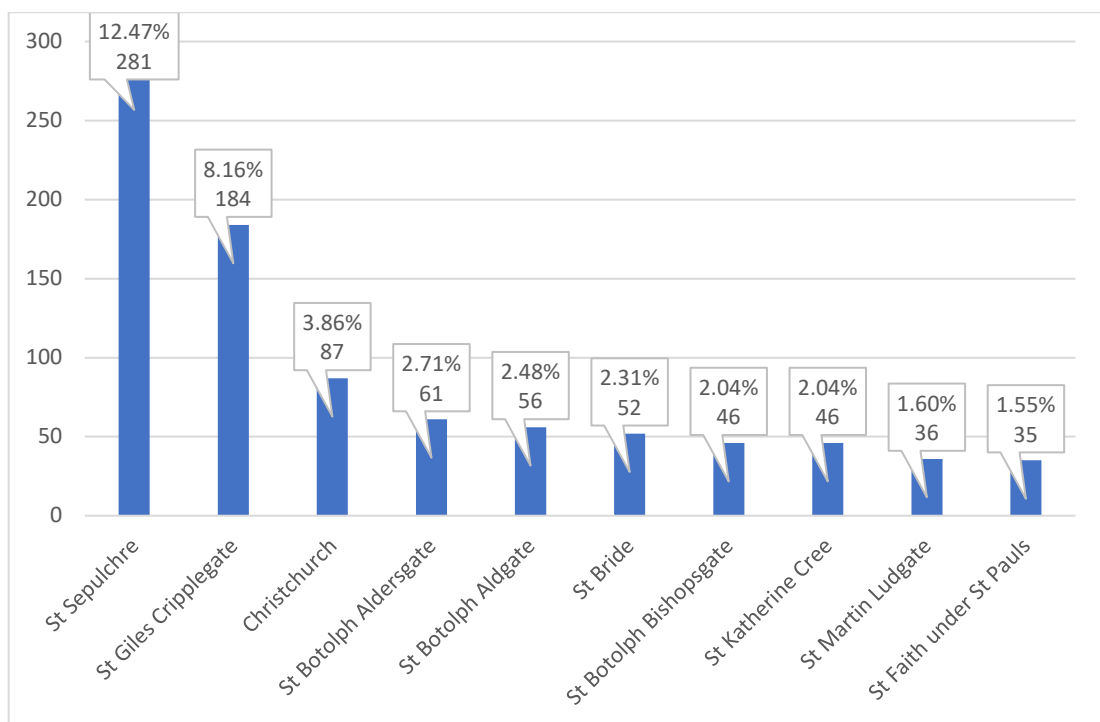
⁶⁹ Fildes, *Maternal Feelings*, p. 147; Slack, *Poverty*, p.70.

other 6d until Michaelmas 1591, and afterwards 8d per week in equal proportions betwixt the above said parties, to which order the parishioners have subscribed, and taken upon them to pay the said 12d weekly until Michaelmas before specified, as well for the said John Ware, as also for themselves and afterwards 8d weekly-that is 4d by the said parishioners, and 4d by John Ware.⁷⁰

The order that payments were to be made to support the child by both her uncle and the parish is unusual; no financial information was recorded in the majority of admission entries.

A table of all parishes that admitted children to the hospital, and the number of children they sent, can be seen in Figure 2-26 in the appendix to this chapter, but figures 2-20 - 2-22 summarise the data for the top ten admitting parishes in the periods 1563-99, 1600-33 and 1634-66. The top ten parishes in each period account for around 40 per cent of all admissions.

Figure 2-20: Parishes admitting most children to Christ's Hospital 1563-99 (n=884)



Unsurprisingly the parishes admitting children to the hospital were poorer parishes; seven of the ten parishes in Figure 2-20 were in receipt of aid from other parishes during the sixteenth century.⁷¹ The two parishes that admitted most children in each

⁷⁰ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 221.

⁷¹ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 151.

period were St. Sepulchre and St. Giles Cripplegate, both large and relatively poor extra-mural parishes.

Figure 2-21: Parishes admitting most children to Christ's Hospital 1600-33 (n=1,063)

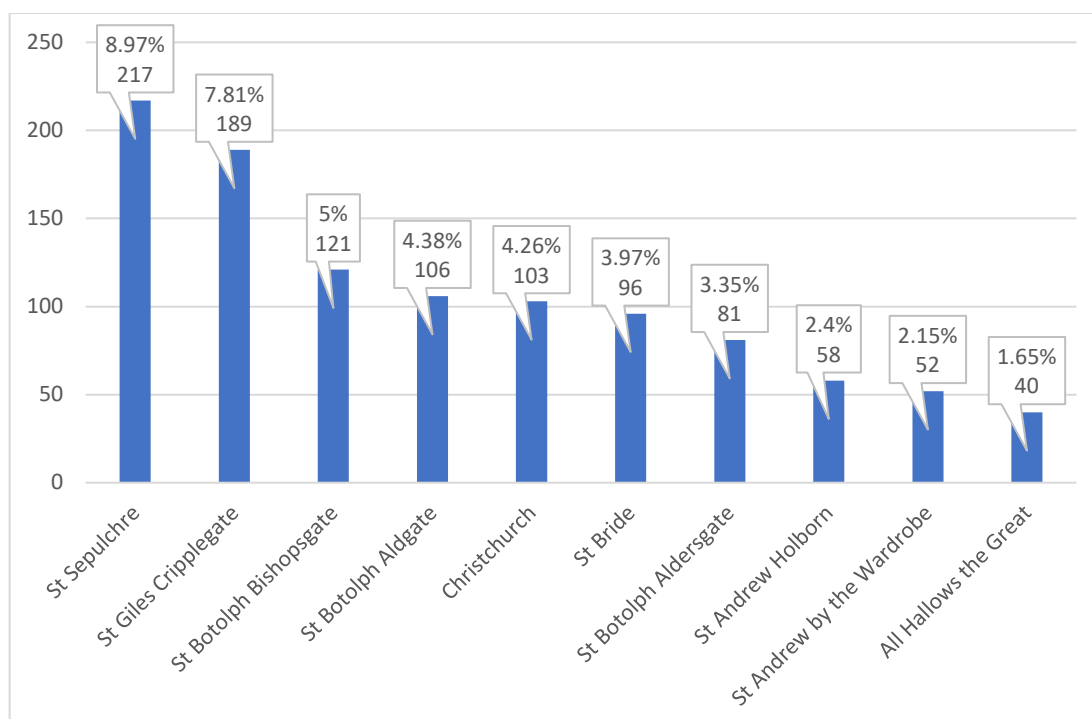
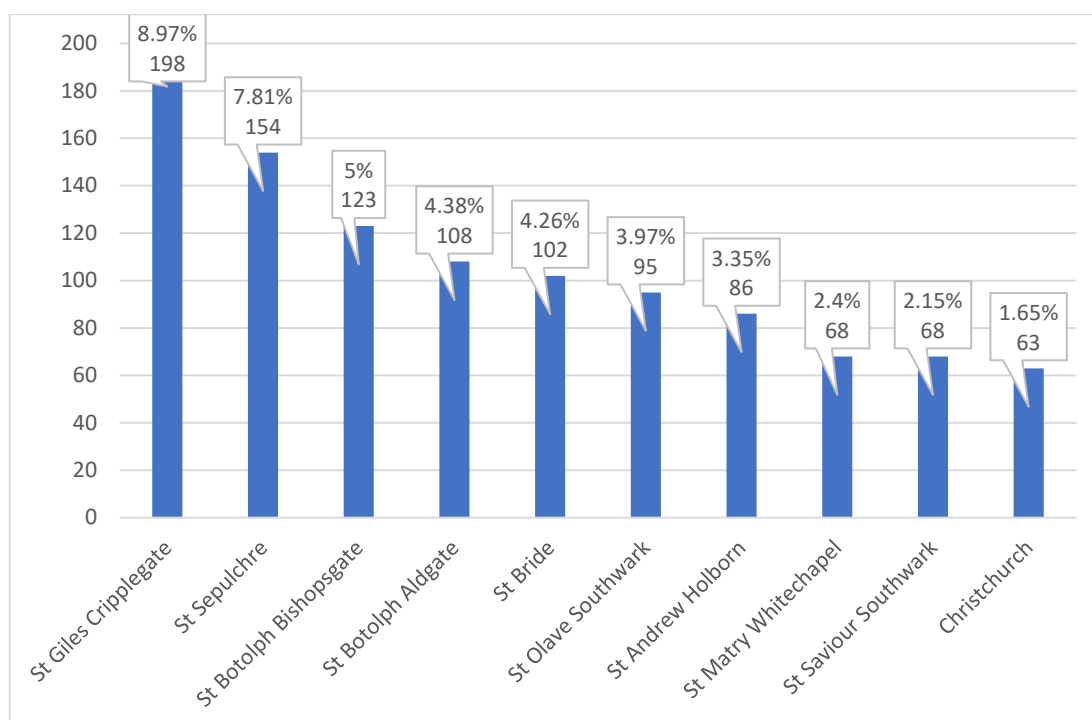


Figure 2-22: Parishes admitting most children to Christ's Hospital 1634-66 (n=1,065)



Ian Archer has commented on the tense relationship between the hospital and parishes in the Elizabethan period, particularly in relation to finance. During the period in which Christ's Hospital controlled the poor rate in the city, the parish vestries thought themselves in need of more money than the hospital rebated back to them; when they regained control after 1598, the hospital always needed more than the parishes were willing to part with.⁷² As a result admissions were often conditional on the parishes paying their assessments; when the churchwardens of St. Mathew Friday Street wanted to have three children admitted on 20 March 1604/05 it was agreed only on condition that they paid 'their whole assessment into this hospital'.⁷³ On 19 November the churchwardens of St. Christopher le Stocks parish resolved 'to be sutors to Christ's Hospitall for the obteyninge of a childe to be taken into the hospital which was misbegotten by John Spragge in this parishe which Childes name is Alice'.⁷⁴ There is no record of this admission in the admission registers so presumably the admission was refused. Parishes also withheld money when they could not get children admitted. St. Michael Cornhill resolved to withhold its contribution to the hospital coffers when efforts to have a foundling admitted in 1591 and 1592 were refused.⁷⁵

Further indications of these sometimes difficult relationships are found in the minutes of the court meetings. At a court on 1 July 1600 the governors debated 'whether it was good or not for the proffitt and good of this house to take in poore children from the parishes' and concluded that 'children shall be taken in at the good liking and consideration of the governors'. On 15 January 1612/13 they decided that no child should be admitted from any parish 'beefore it bee considered of by the treasurer with 3 or 4 of the governors whether there bee none in the parish which hath more neede and they to make report of theire surveigh to be by them confirmed and admitted'.⁷⁶ It is doubtful that the treasurer and governors were able to survey the parishes in this way before admitting children, and there are no entries in the minute books to suggest that they did. It is however symptomatic of the relationship

⁷² Archer, *Pursuit*, pp. 159-161.

⁷³ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 181.

⁷⁴ *Minutes of the vestry meetings and other records of the parish of St Christopher le Stocks in the city of London*, ed. by Edwin Freshfield (London, 1886), p. 20.

⁷⁵ Archer, *Pursuit*, pp. 160-1.

⁷⁶ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 50, 153.

between the two. The financial relationship between the hospital and parishes will be examined in Chapter 6.

At times the hospital sought to limit the number of children from individual parishes. A court on 5 April 1606 agreed to the admission of five children from St. Bride parish on condition that: 'The churchwardens of the said parish gave promises not to trouble this house with any manner of suite for any more children for... 2 years.' As with many decisions made by the court this condition was not enforced and four children were admitted from St. Bride the following year, and a further five in the admission year 1608/9.⁷⁷

Some 161 children (5.74 per cent) were admitted at the request of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen in the period 1563-99. The number of children admitted in this manner decreased in the seventeenth century to seventy (2.43 per cent of the total admitted) between 1600 and 1633, and to just eighteen (0.59 per cent) in the period 1634-66. Some of these were children who had become dependent on the city due to parental misdemeanours. Elizabeth Norton was admitted on 25 November 1564, the 'daughter of a woman in the Counter prison',⁷⁸ and William Ellyott was admitted on 13 May 1631 having been born in Newgate prison.⁷⁹ Two sisters, Alice and Isabell Peter, were admitted 'at my Lord Mayors commandment' on 17 February 1564/5; they were children 'to an Egyptian executed at Tyburn'. Richard Lewis was also admitted to Christ's Hospital by the Lord Mayor on 16 October 1574, 'the son of one Lewis who was executed at the Tyborne'.⁸⁰

The Lord Mayor also acted as a conduit for admissions requested by the Crown or parliament, particularly children orphaned as a result of their fathers' military service. Faurias Bell was admitted aged seven on 5 September 1588 from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen 'at request of the right hon John Wolley secretary for the Latin tongue', his father Thomas having been, 'lately slain in Her Majestys service', and twin brothers Robert and Thomas Ouerburie were admitted after their father Benedick 'drowned in her Majestys service'.⁸¹

⁷⁷ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 92; C.R., vol. 3, ff. 365-375.

⁷⁸ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 62.

⁷⁹ C.R., vol 2, f. 132.

⁸⁰ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 64.

⁸¹ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 212, 217.

The seventeenth century saw the hospital trying to assert its independence from the Court of Aldermen, and the fall in admissions via the Court of Aldermen reflects this. The hospital refused the admission of a child, Hannah Bowles, on 12 March 1650/1, although it relented at the next court meeting on 14 May 1651 and Bowles was admitted on 13 June 1651.⁸² At a court on 16 August 1655 the treasurer reported that he had been ordered by the court of Aldermen to take two children:

Upon the humble petition of Rebbecca Child widdow late wife of Ffrancis Child a poore man who dyed of hurte received in labouring at ye late grate fire in Threadneedle street. It is ordered by this court [Aldermen] that Ffrancis and Elizabeth Child two of the children....be delivered into Christ Hospital to be... brought up, and hereby are recommended to the Govnors after that purpose.⁸³

The governors agreed to take the children but found it necessary to specify that this should not be taken as precedent that the Court of Aldermen could admit children without the consent of the governors:

... although these Children were recommended by ye Court of Aldermen it is not meant to be a president for ye future, ye meanes of ye Ffathers death and ye neede of the mother and Children being ye great motive for their admittance.⁸⁴

The number of children admitted by private suit increased from seventy-four (2.64 per cent) in the period 1563-99 to 198 (6.86 per cent) in the period 1600-33, before falling slightly in the period 1634-66 to 157 (5.17 per cent). As discussed earlier, admissions from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen decreased in the same period and it is likely that some of the increase in admission of children via private suit is due to this. Children admitted in this way were described in the admissions registers as 'admitted at the request of...'.

The main reason however, for the increase in this manner of admission is the increasing number of donations and bequests to the hospital, and the hospital was always mindful of potential future donations or bequests if a request for admission came from someone who was potentially a future donor. On 7 July 1602 'Mr Cogan Treasurer making this courte acquainted with a suite made to this house by Sir Drew

⁸² C.M.B., vol. 5, pp. 31-32; C.R., vol. 3, f. 157.

⁸³ C.M.B., vol. 5, p. 398.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 399.

Drewry knight concerning the taking into this house a child Which request the governours very well considered and the very great good will the said Sir Drew doth beare to this house have admitted the said child named Susan Hartley'. On 10 October 1611 Alice Eaton was admitted 'at the request of Mrs Magdalen Browne widdow, who is a goode benefactor of this house', and Anne Masters was likewise admitted on 4 February 1625 at the request of Dame Susan Billinghamoy, 'a good benefactor'.⁸⁵

Although substantial benefactors were able to nominate children for admission, the governors were not so naïve as to accept children without being reasonably certain that the admission would be gainful for them. When Mr Aylmer, son and executor of the late Bishop of London, requested the admission of a child named Dorothy Beward, claiming that the Bishop had left £100 for the poor of London to be bestowed at Aylmer's discretion, the court conditionally agreed if 'the said Mr Aylmer do put in his bond and he promiseth to pay the same within three yeares and in the meantime the will to be looked into to see wher the said hundred pounds or any part therof be given to this house or as he saith to be bestowed at his descretion'. Although the minutes of the next court meeting record that Aylmer 'hath at this court put in his bond', there is no entry in the children's register for Dorothy Beward, nor any reference to a child being admitted at the request of Aylmer, so presumably the court was not satisfied that the money would be forthcoming.⁸⁶

Many admissions were subject to the petitioner taking responsibility for the child on discharge. Christopher Morley was admitted on 22 August 1607, the son of Thomas Morley, deceased, at the request of Mr. William Owen. Morley was 'admitted a childe of this house condicon that the said mr Owen become bound to discharge the house of the same childe at the age of sixteene yeares if the said childe be then still living'.⁸⁷ Likewise John Batten was admitted in 1610 at the request of Lady Allott, a benefactor of Christ's Hospital, but only on condition that she would be responsible for the child on discharge.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ C.M.B., vol. 3, f.63, f. 129; C.R., vol.2, f. 70.

⁸⁶ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 54; vol. 4, f. 30.

⁸⁷ C.R., vol. 1, f. 360; C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 102.

⁸⁸ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 120.

There are a number of instances in which benefactors left money to pay for several children to be cared for in perpetuity. However, the governors were not generally keen to commit themselves to such arrangements. In 1633 John Lorke left £1,000 ‘for the use and bring up of poore children’. The executors of his will presented to the court an indenture of covenants ‘for the perpetuall maintaining and bringing up of eight children to be taken from severall parishes by the appointment and presentation of severall persons’. The court concluded that ‘Mr Lorke had no purpose or intent to tye this hospital to any such condicons’ (the perpetual maintenance of eight children) and it appointed several governors to meet the executors and contest their covenant.⁸⁹ The result of this meeting is not recorded in the court minute books but on 6 March 1636 Hezechia Garrett was admitted ‘being one of Mr. Lorke’s children’,⁹⁰ and from that date until 1666 a total of twenty-six children were admitted under his benefaction. From the available data it seems that the executors did manage to enforce their covenant. The number of admissions under Mr. Lorke’s gift built slowly through the 1630’s but by 1649 there were always eight children being cared for. Moreover, when a child was discharged another one was admitted in their place. Samuell Browne was admitted in 1654, ‘one of Mr. Lorkes children’, and discharged in 1662.⁹¹ Judith Willen was admitted the same year ‘one of Mr Lorkes children in the room of Sam Browne discharged’.⁹²

Children continued to be admitted in this way even when the hospital was refusing admissions from other sources. In February 1662/3 the court decided that ‘no children shall be taken in for the yeare next ensuing except such as are appointed to be taken in upon the gift of persons heretofor deceased’.⁹³ In the following year (1663/4) there were only seven admissions: two foundlings; two from a parish; two from Lorke’s gift, both replacing children who had been discharged; and one from the gift of Lady Sithbourne, also replacing a child who had been discharged.⁹⁴ In Chapter 6 the role of benefactors will be examined more closely.

⁸⁹ C.M.B., vol. 4, f. 30.

⁹⁰ C.R., vol. 3, f. 25.

⁹¹ Ibid, vol. 3, f. 204.

⁹² Ibid, vol. 4, f. 100.

⁹³ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 129.

⁹⁴ C.R., vol. 4, f. 101.

One further point to note from the gift of John Lorke is that he gave it in 1633 ‘for the use and bring up of poore children’,⁹⁵ indicating that he at least saw Christ’s Hospital as more than a school. Richard Aldworth in 1662 left £7,400 ‘for the maintenance of 40 poore children,’⁹⁶ again indicating that Christ’s Hospital was viewed as maintaining, rather than just educating, children. Aldworth’s gift also highlights a problem sometimes faced by the hospital of collecting the money. In a court of 9 March 1662/3 the treasurer complained ‘that this hospital is already out of purse towards maintaining the 40 poore children money has still not been paid’.⁹⁷ The money doesn’t appear in the treasurer’s accounts between 1662 and 1666, so it is unclear whether the money was ever received. I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 6.

Children admitted at the request of somebody were not necessarily less needy nor less deserving of care at Christ’s Hospital. Two entries in the children’s register on 22 January 1657/8 show two children – Jonathon Fledger aged ten, and Samuell Cobb aged six – admitted at the request of Mistress Glassbrook, widow and benefactor to the hospital. Fledger’s father was ‘miserably murdered by troopers and formerly living in good fashion raising 7 children all destitute of meanes’, and Cobb’s father ‘went beyond sea and left his wife and 2 children destitute of means’.⁹⁸

Neither Fledger nor Cobb qualified for admission in the normal way, as they were both from the county of Berkshire, highlighting the way in which rules could be ignored for benefactors, and when there was an advantage to the hospital. Local contacts also appear to be a factor in arranging admissions. The hospital held property and had tenants in the town of Berden in Essex; this was also the location of a number of nurses used by the hospital to care for younger children. On 18 April 1608 Parnell and Sara Hankine were admitted from there, daughters of Nicholas Hankine, labourer, ‘until they shall accomplish the several ages of Twelve yeares at the speciall request of Mr Richard Meade of the saime towne yeomann in the name

⁹⁵ C.M.B., vol. 4, f. 30.

⁹⁶ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 92.

⁹⁷ Ibid, f. 131.

⁹⁸ C.R., vol.3, f. 31.

of the whole towne'. They were both discharged back to their mother on 28 April 1614.⁹⁹

Occasionally the monarch was involved in requesting admission for children, not always successfully. On three occasions between 1590 and 1603 admissions are recorded as being at the request of Queen Elizabeth I. Anthonie Wood in 1590 was admitted 'by commandment from Her Majesty',¹⁰⁰ as were Bartholomew Jones in 1594,¹⁰¹ and Elizabeth Tasker in 1598.¹⁰² However, in 1605 when King James I requested admission of a child:

... the same childe being viewed was found to be lame the admittance thereof is againste the orders of this house yet this courte doe think it their dutie to consider the goodwill in admitting Granted weekly pension for his maintenance until the same child be cured or otherwise be admitted a child of this house at the discrecion of the governors.¹⁰³

A further request to the court was made in on 8 February 1660/1 when 'it pleased ye Kings Majesty to desire that William Russell sonne of William Russell vintner Deceased might be taken into this house'.¹⁰⁴ Admission was deferred as the court had:

... heertofore made an order that noe Child or Children should be admitted upon any consideration whatsoever, but those that should bee admitted at a Generall taking in of Children thereupon they could not at present admitt the said child, but it being ye fiirst request of the King's Majesty they gave order to Mr Treasurer that hee should take care of the said child till the next admission of Children.¹⁰⁵

William Russell is recorded in the children's register as being admitted in 1659/60 by 'order of court'.¹⁰⁶

Some 100 admissions were recorded in the admissions register as being 'by order of court'. These were admissions that had, for one reason or another, been considered by the Christ's Hospital court and didn't fit within the normal admission profile.

⁹⁹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 108; C.R., vol. 1, f. 402.

¹⁰⁰ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 219.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 236.

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 260.

¹⁰³ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 89.

¹⁰⁴ C.M.B., vol. 5, p. 833.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ C.R., vol. 4, f. 81. The exact date of admission was not recorded but the year was entered as 1659/60, seemingly before the accession of Charles II, but this is likely to be a recording error as preceding and following entries in the register are not in date order.

Children taken out of the streets during periodic round ups of vagrants undertaken by the beadles of Christ's Hospital and Bridewell were admitted in this manner. Efforts were made either to return children to their parents or, for older children, to bind them into domestic service or apprenticeships. Marie Allin was admitted on 29 September 1565, 'a great wench about 14 years taken out of the streets a-begging'. On 21 December 1566, 'this wench was put on liking and ran from her master this day'. Two boys, John Abpendilton and Raulphe Lattine, both aged twelve years, were 'taken up in the streets' on 6 November 1563. Two days after his admission Lattine was 'found to make a false report upon his admission for that his father is dwelling at Hackney to whom he is delivered again'.¹⁰⁷

Admissions were occasionally arranged for children at times of crisis when parents were temporarily unable to care for them, either through the death of a parent, incarceration in prison, or through illness. John Mathew aged four, son of John Mathew deceased, was admitted on 19 May 1565, 'till the mother marry', as was Thomas Hearne, aged six, son of Henry deceased, who was admitted on 8 June 1565. Neither of these children were returned to their mothers: Mathew remained under the care of the hospital until 17 October 1565 when he was 'bound to Thomas Hayward for 11 years', and Hearne died at the hospital four years after admission on 12 June 1569.¹⁰⁸

Illness of a parent was also a reason for a temporary admission to Christ's. Richard Porter, aged six months, was admitted for a year by St. Thomas' Hospital, 'the mother being taken in there', on 8 December 1565, and on 19 July 1567 William Harison, aged one, was admitted as the son of 'Nicholas haberdasher being now vexed with frenzy admitted till his recovery and to be delivered again'.¹⁰⁹ Temporary admission was also arranged on occasion for the children of prisoners. John Bullys, aged six weeks, was admitted for one year on 25 August 1565 as his father Walter was 'a prisoner now in Ludgate'. Although this admission was supposedly only for one year, Bullys was still under the care of the hospital five years later when he died. Jone Vaughan, aged ten, was admitted as her mother Margaret was a 'prisoner in

¹⁰⁷ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 67, 52, 53.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 66, 71.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 68, 78.

Bridewell', to remain until 'her mother be delivered out of prison again'. Jone was returned to her mother, although the date is not recorded.¹¹⁰

2.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to examine the data on admissions to Christ's Hospital, and set the frame for further examination of the type of institution that Christ's Hospital was from its foundation in 1552 until 1666, when the buildings were destroyed in the fire of London. It was seen in section 2.2 how the admissions policy was applied with a remarkable degree of flexibility on the part of the governors: just over 40 per cent of boys and 60 per cent of girls admitted in the period 1563-99 were below the minimum age of four years, and although the numbers of very young children reduced in the seventeenth century, under-fours still accounted for 20 per cent of boys and a quarter of girls admitted in the period 1633-66. Most of these admissions were children in genuine need, as illustrated by four admissions from January 1566/7. On 11 January that year three children were admitted, all of whom were below the age of four. Twins William and Elizabeth Gardenar aged eighteen months were admitted, 'whose father is run from his wife'; Robert Hudson, aged three, was also admitted on the same day as his 'father is gone away with another'. On 18 January 1566, Jone Evannce, aged nine months, was admitted, and described as 'a starveling daughter of David Evannce, a vacabond'. Of the four admissions, Jone Evannce and Robert Hudson died at nurse, but William Gardenar was bound to an apprenticeship on 14 August 1584, and Elizabeth Gardenar was adopted by her nurse Jone Truss on 19 April 1574.¹¹¹ The date of William Gardener's discharge may have been incorrectly recorded as he would have been twenty at the time of his discharge. None of these children were eligible for admission according to the age criterion, but the fact that they were taken in demonstrates an approach to admissions based on need.

Although the number of children below the age of four was considerable, it was seen in section 2.3 that the most prevalent age range on admission was between four and eight, although the average age on admission of girls was lower than that of boys. In the latest period looked at, 1634-66, 64 per cent of boys and 66 per cent of girls

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 67, 83.

¹¹¹ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 75..

admitted fell into this group. We also saw in section 2.3 that the gender ratio between boys and girls was approximately 2:1 in favour of boys, reflecting the perceived benefit in expending resources on boys rather than girls. This was also reflected in the gender of foundlings accepted into the hospital, albeit with a slightly reduced ratio of approximately 3:2. The largest occupational category of the fathers of children admitted were those employed in the cloth and clothing trades, reflecting the importance and prevalence of those industries in early modern London. The importance of these trades in arranging apprenticeships for children being discharged from the hospital will also be seen in Chapter 5 where the discharge data is analysed.

In section 2.4 the methods by which children were admitted were examined, finding that the most common route for children to be admitted was via a parish, with over 80 per cent of admissions in all time periods occurring in this manner. We also saw that benefactors to the hospital, and prominent citizens, could circumvent normal admissions requirements and were able to nominate children for admission even when they did not meet the admissions criteria. It was also seen, however, that children admitted in this way were on the whole children who were in genuine need of care, rather than children from an otherwise stable background for whom an advantage in life was being sought. The relationships between the hospital and parishes, as well as the Court of Aldermen and benefactors will be more fully examined in Chapters 6.

The data analysed in this chapter has shown that the governors of Christ's Hospital did their best to provide help for the many poor children of early modern London, but in many ways they became victims of their own success, and demand for help exceeded the resources available to them almost from the start, leading to severe financial difficulties, and the need to halt admissions during certain periods. The data shown here will form the basis for more detailed analysis in subsequent chapters.

Appendix to chapter 2

Figure 2-23: Occupations of fathers whose children were admitted to Christ's Hospital, 1563-99

Category	Occupation	Number	% Category	% Total
Cloth & Clothing	Button Maker	1	0.14	0.06
	Capper	1	0.14	0.06

	Clothworker	149	20.27	8.50
	Cobbler	8	1.09	0.46
	Draper	72	9.80	4.11
	Dyer	9	1.22	0.51
	Embroiderer	15	2.04	0.86
	Farthingale Maker	1	0.14	0.06
	Feltmaker	1	0.14	0.06
	Fuller	1	0.14	0.06
	Girdler	25	3.40	1.43
	Glover	6	0.82	0.34
	Haberdasher	98	13.33	5.59
	Hatmaker	2	0.27	0.11
	Hosier	3	0.41	0.17
	Mercer	16	2.18	0.91
	Merchant Taylor	224	30.48	12.78
	Button Mouldmaker	1	0.14	0.06
	Shoemaker	14	1.90	0.80
	Silk Dyer	1	0.14	0.06
	Silk Weaver	13	1.77	0.74
	Tailor	29	3.95	1.65
	Upholder	10	1.36	0.57
	Weaver	28	3.81	1.60
	Wool Winder	5	0.68	0.29
	Wool Man	2	0.27	0.11
	Total	735	100.00	41.93
Construction	Bricklayer	10	6.58	0.57
	Brickmaker	1	0.66	0.06
	Carpenter	38	25.00	2.17
	Glazier	3	1.97	0.17
	Joiner	34	22.37	1.94
	Labourer	26	17.11	1.48
	Mason	9	5.92	0.51
	Painter	3	1.97	0.17
	Painter Stainer	4	2.63	0.23
	Pavior	5	3.29	0.29
	Plaisterer	17	11.18	0.97
	Plumber	2	1.32	0.11
	Total	152	100.00	8.67
Leather	Cordwainer	30	21.90	1.71
	Currier	16	11.68	0.91
	Harness Fitter	1	0.73	0.06
	Leatherseller	26	18.98	1.48
	Saddler	24	17.52	1.37
	Skinner	40	29.20	2.28

	Total	137	100.00	7.82
Metal	Armourer	17	10.90	0.97
	Bit Maker	1	0.64	0.06
	Blacksmith	11	7.05	0.63
	Bladesmith	1	0.64	0.06
	Coppersmith	1	0.64	0.06
	Cutler	17	10.90	0.97
	Farrier	1	0.64	0.06
	Founder	12	7.69	0.68
	Goldsmith	39	25.00	2.22
	Ironmonger	16	10.26	0.91
	Loriner	4	2.56	0.23
	Needlemaker	3	1.92	0.17
	Pewterer	27	17.31	1.54
	Pyner	1	0.64	0.06
	Smith	3	1.92	0.17
	Spurrier	2	1.28	0.11
	Total	156	100.00	8.90
Miscellaneous	Barber	6	5.77	0.34
	Basketmaker	6	5.77	0.34
	Beadle	4	3.85	0.23
	Bookbinder	2	1.92	0.11
	Captain and Gentleman	1	0.96	0.06
	Carman	3	2.88	0.17
	Chandler	3	2.88	0.17
	Gardener	4	3.85	0.23
	Gent	1	0.96	0.06
	Horner	2	1.92	0.11
	Horse Breaker	1	0.96	0.06
	Minstrel	3	2.88	0.17
	Musician	3	2.88	0.17
	Porter	16	15.38	0.91
	Poulter	10	9.62	0.57
	Sailor	8	7.69	0.46
	Saltpetre Maker	1	0.96	0.06
	Servant	11	10.58	0.63
	Shipwright	1	0.96	0.06
	Tinker	1	0.96	0.06
	Vagabond	1	0.96	0.06
	Waterman	13	12.50	0.74
	Yeoman	3	2.88	0.17
	Total	104	100.00	5.93

Professional	Barber Surgeon	23	23.96	1.31
	Clerk	8	8.33	0.46
	Minister	11	11.46	0.63
	Parish Clerk	1	1.04	0.06
	Preacher	1	1.04	0.06
	Schoolmaster	6	6.25	0.34
	Scrivener	9	9.38	0.51
	Stationer	37	38.54	2.11
	Total	96	100.00	5.48
Victualling	Baker	24	7.29	1.37
	Brown Baker	3	0.91	0.17
	White Baker	17	5.17	0.97
	Brewer	24	7.29	1.37
	Butcher	53	16.11	3.02
	Cook	19	5.78	1.08
	Costermonger	1	0.30	0.06
	Fishmonger	40	12.16	2.28
	Fruiterer	6	1.82	0.34
	Grocer	53	16.11	3.02
	Innholder	14	4.26	0.80
	Merchant	3	0.91	0.17
	Miller	1	0.30	0.06
	Salter	22	6.69	1.25
	Tallow Chandler	12	3.65	0.68
	Tapster	2	0.61	0.11
	Vintner	18	5.47	1.03
	Water Bearer	12	3.65	0.68
	Wax Chandler	3	0.91	0.17
	Wine Porter	2	0.61	0.11
	Total	329	100.00	18.77
Wood	Bowyer	6	13.64	0.34
	Cooper	19	43.18	1.08
	Fletcher	6	13.64	0.34
	Sawyer	6	13.64	0.34
	Turner	1	2.27	0.06
	Woodmonger	6	13.64	0.34
	Total	44	100.00	2.51

Figure 2-24: Occupations of fathers whose children were admitted to Christ's Hospital, 1600-33

Category	Occupation	Number	% Category	% Total
Cloth & Clothing	Clothworker	228	19.00	8.92
	Draper	93	7.75	3.64
	Dyer	24	2.00	0.94
	Embroiderer	18	1.50	0.70
	Feltmaker	5	0.42	0.20
	Girdler	31	2.58	1.21
	Haberdasher	173	14.42	6.77
	Mercer	15	1.25	0.59
	Merchant Taylor	472	39.33	18.47
	Shoemaker	3	0.25	0.12
	Silk Weaver	12	1.00	0.47
	Tailor	9	0.75	0.35
	Upholder	2	0.17	0.08
	Weaver	114	9.50	4.46
	Wool Binder	1	0.08	0.04
	Total	1200	100.00	46.97
Construction	Bricklayer	14	6.33	0.55
	Carpenter	64	28.96	2.50
	Glazier	6	2.71	0.23
	Joiner	55	24.89	2.15
	Labourer	8	3.62	0.31
	Mason	9	4.07	0.35
	Painter	8	3.62	0.31
	Painter Stainer	14	6.33	0.55
	Pavior	4	1.81	0.16
	Plasterer	34	15.38	1.33
	Plumber	5	2.26	0.20
	Total	221	100.00	8.65
Leather	Cordwainer	126	55.75	4.93
	Currier	15	6.64	0.59
	Leather Worker	1	0.44	0.04
	Leatherseller	29	12.83	1.14
	Saddler	7	3.10	0.27
	Skinner	48	21.24	1.88
	Total	226	100.00	8.85
Metal	Armourer	17	6.64	0.67
	Blacksmith	57	22.27	2.23
	Cutler	33	12.89	1.29

	Farrier	9	3.52	0.35
	Founder	7	2.73	0.27
	Goldbeater	1	0.39	0.04
	Goldsmith	73	28.52	2.86
	Ironmonger	15	5.86	0.59
	Loriner	7	2.73	0.27
	Pewterer	37	14.45	1.45
	Total	256		10.02
Miscellaneous	Basket Maker	3	3.95	0.12
	Book Binder	1	1.32	0.04
	Bow String Maker	2	2.63	0.08
	Carman	2	2.63	0.08
	Chandler	3	3.95	0.12
	Gardener	2	2.63	0.08
	Gentleman	4	5.26	0.16
	Horner	3	3.95	0.12
	Husbandman	4	5.26	0.16
	Musician	8	10.53	0.31
	Porter	5	6.58	0.20
	Poulter	10	13.16	0.39
	Sailor	3	3.95	0.12
	Shipwright	1	1.32	0.04
	Soldier	1	1.32	0.04
	Waterman	21	27.63	0.82
	Yeoman	3	3.95	0.12
	Total	76	100.00	2.97
Professional	Apothecary	2	1.82	0.08
	Barber Surgeon	47	42.73	1.84
	Clerk	2	1.82	0.08
	Minister	13	11.82	0.51
	Scrivener	12	10.91	0.47
	Stationer	34	30.91	1.33
	Total	110	100.00	4.31
Victualling	Baker	14	3.84	0.55
	Brown Baker	4	1.10	0.16
	White Baker	27	7.40	1.06
	Brewer	21	5.75	0.82
	Butcher	51	13.97	2.00
	Cook	22	6.03	0.86
	Fishmonger	51	13.97	2.00
	Fruiterer	10	2.74	0.39
	Grocer	48	13.15	1.88

	Innholder	19	5.21	0.74
	Merchant	1	0.27	0.04
	Salter	38	10.41	1.49
	Tallow Chandler	22	6.03	0.86
	Vintner	30	8.22	1.17
	Water Bearer	2	0.55	0.08
	Wax Chandler	5	1.37	0.20
	Total	365	100.00	14.29
Wood	Bowyer	4	3.96	0.16
	Cooper	27	26.73	1.06
	Fletcher	7	6.93	0.27
	Turner	25	24.75	0.98
	Wine Cooper	1	0.99	0.04
	Woodmonger	37	36.63	1.45
	Total	101	100.00	3.95

Figure 2-25: Occupations of fathers whose children were admitted to Christ's Hospital, 1634-66

Cloth & Clothing	Clothworker	191	15.82	7.46
	Draper	95	7.87	3.71
	Dyer	30	2.49	1.17
	Embroiderer	34	2.82	1.33
	Felt Maker	1	0.08	0.04
	Girdler	30	2.49	1.17
	Glover	5	0.41	0.20
	Haberdasher	164	13.59	6.41
	Mercer	9	0.75	0.35
	Merchant Taylor	417	34.55	16.29
	Shoe Maker	3	0.25	0.12
	Silk Weaver	2	0.17	0.08
	Tailor	6	0.50	0.23
	Weaver	220	18.23	8.59
	Total	1207	100.00	47.15
Construction	Bricklayer	22	11.22	0.86
	Carpenter	53	27.04	2.07
	Glazier	13	6.63	0.51
	Joiner	55	28.06	2.15
	Labourer	1	0.51	0.04
	Mason	8	4.08	0.31
	Painter	3	1.53	0.12
	Painter Stainer	11	5.61	0.43

	Pavior	4	2.04	0.16
	Plasterer	21	10.71	0.82
	Plumber	5	2.55	0.20
	Total	196	100.00	7.66
Leather	Cordwainer	146	56.37	5.70
	Currier	11	4.25	0.43
	Leatherseller	44	16.99	1.72
	Saddler	16	6.18	0.63
	Skinner	42	16.22	1.64
	Total	259	100.00	10.12
Metal	Armourer	14	5.71	0.55
	Blacksmith	67	27.35	2.62
	Cutler	47	19.18	1.84
	Farrier	10	4.08	0.39
	Founder	14	5.71	0.55
	Goldsmith	47	19.18	1.84
	Ironmonger	7	2.86	0.27
	Loriner	21	8.57	0.82
	Pewterer	18	7.35	0.70
	Total	245	100.00	9.57
Miscellaneous	Barber	3	6.82	0.12
	Basket Maker	4	9.09	0.16
	Book Binder	1	2.27	0.04
	Bow String Maker	3	6.82	0.12
	Comb Maker	1	2.27	0.04
	Freemason	1	2.27	0.04
	Horner	2	4.55	0.08
	Mariner	2	4.55	0.08
	Musician	4	9.09	0.16
	Porter	3	6.82	0.12
	Poulter	4	9.09	0.16
	Printer	1	2.27	0.04
	Shipwright	2	4.55	0.08
	Tobacco Pipe Maker	1	2.27	0.04
	Waterman	11	25.00	0.43
	Yeoman	1	2.27	0.04
	Total	44	100.00	1.72
Professional	Apothecary	4	3.13	0.16
	Barber Surgeon	46	35.94	1.80
	Clerk	2	1.56	0.08

	Minister	8	6.25	0.31
	School Master	2	1.56	0.08
	Scrivener	15	11.72	0.59
	Stationer	51	39.84	1.99
	Total	128	100.00	5.00
Victualling	Baker	10	2.79	0.39
	Brown Baker	4	1.11	0.16
	White Baker	32	8.91	1.25
	Brewer	29	8.08	1.13
	Butcher	34	9.47	1.33
	Cook	18	5.01	0.70
	Fishmonger	39	10.86	1.52
	Fruiterer	13	3.62	0.51
	Grocer	39	10.86	1.52
	Innholder	29	8.08	1.13
	Merchant	6	1.67	0.23
	Salter	29	8.08	1.13
	Tallow Chandler	30	8.36	1.17
	Vintner	35	9.75	1.37
	Water Bearer	2	0.56	0.08
	Wax Chandler	9	2.51	0.35
	Wine Porter	1	0.28	0.04
	Total	359	100.00	14.02
Wood	Bowyer	3	2.46	0.12
	Cooper	50	40.98	1.95
	Fletcher	4	3.28	0.16
	Turner	22	18.03	0.86
	Woodmonger	43	35.25	1.68
	Total	122	100.00	4.77

Figure 2-26: Numbers and ratio of children admitted from parishes (n=7,187)

City and Liberties						
	1563-99	%	1600-33	%	1634-66	%
All Hallows Barking	13	0.58	26	1.07	25	0.99
All Hallows Bread St.	13	0.58	10	0.41	4	0.16
All Hallows the Great	25	1.11	40	1.65	43	1.71
All Hallows Honey Lane	5	0.22	1	0.04	2	0.08
All Hallows the Less	17	0.75	27	1.12	18	0.72
All Hallows Lombard St.	9	0.40	8	0.33	3	0.12
All Hallows London Wall	14	0.62	15	0.62	14	0.56
All Hallows Staining	16	0.71	14	0.58	16	0.64

Bridewell Precinct	0	0.00	2	0.08	6	0.24
Christchurch	87	3.86	103	4.26	63	2.51
Holy Trinity Minorities	0	0.00	1	0.04	2	0.08
Holy Trinity the Less	9	0.40	11	0.45	2	0.08
St. Alban Wood St.	20	0.89	14	0.58	18	0.72
St. Alphage Cripplegate	33	1.46	23	0.95	10	0.40
St. Andrew by the Wardrobe	24	1.06	52	2.15	34	1.35
St. Andrew Holborn	24	1.06	58	2.40	86	3.42
St. Andrew Hubbard	6	0.27	20	0.83	8	0.32
St. Andrew Undershaft	31	1.38	21	0.87	14	0.56
St. Anne and St. Agnes	10	0.44	8	0.33	7	0.28
St. Anne Blackfriars	0	0.00	2	0.08	13	0.52
St. Antholin	13	0.58	13	0.54	6	0.24
St. Augustine Watling St.	21	0.93	16	0.66	1	0.04
St. Bartholomew by Exchange	0	0.00	7	0.29	1	0.04
St. Bartholomew the Great	0	0.00	9	0.37	23	0.91
St. Bartholomew the Less	11	0.49	15	0.62	15	0.60
St. Benet Fink	17	0.75	15	0.62	4	0.16
St. Benet Gracechurch	6	0.27	4	0.17	3	0.12
St. Benet Paul's Wharf	19	0.84	19	0.79	18	0.72
St. Benet Sherehog	7	0.31	1	0.04	2	0.08
St. Botolph Aldersgate	61	2.71	81	3.35	51	2.03
St. Botolph Aldgate	56	2.48	106	4.38	108	4.30
St. Botolph Billingsgate	9	0.40	14	0.58	5	0.20
St. Botolph Bishopsgate	46	2.04	121	5.00	123	4.89
St. Bride	52	2.31	96	3.97	102	4.06
St. Christopher Le Stocks	11	0.49	5	0.21	2	0.08
St. Clement Eastcheap	11	0.49	8	0.33	5	0.20
St. Dionis Backchurch	16	0.71	17	0.70	6	0.24
St. Dunstan in the East	32	1.42	29	1.20	29	1.15
St. Dunstan in the West	25	1.11	18	0.74	43	1.71
St. Edmund Lombard St.	14	0.62	12	0.50	3	0.12
St. Ethelburga	20	0.89	17	0.70	10	0.40
St. Faith under St. Paul's	35	1.55	19	0.79	17	0.68
St. Gabriel Fenchurch St.	9	0.40	10	0.41	4	0.16
St. George Botolph Lane	3	0.13	12	0.50	1	0.04
St. George Southwark	1	0.04	4	0.17	25	0.99
St. Giles Cripplegate	184	8.16	189	7.81	198	7.88
St. Gregory by St Paul's	35	1.55	19	0.79	19	0.76
St. Helen Bishopsgate	7	0.31	5	0.21	2	0.08
St. James Duke's Place	0	0.00	6	0.25	10	0.40
St. James Garlickhithe	14	0.62	15	0.62	13	0.52
St. John the Evangelist	4	0.18	1	0.04	6	0.24
St. John Walbrook	19	0.84	20	0.83	7	0.28
St. John Zachary	25	1.11	22	0.91	14	0.56
St. Katherine Coleman	21	0.93	28	1.16	33	1.31
St. Katherine Cree	46	2.04	35	1.45	22	0.88
St. Lawrence Jewry	12	0.53	15	0.62	7	0.28

St. Lawrence Pountney	17	0.75	20	0.83	7	0.28
St. Leonard Eastcheap	7	0.31	8	0.33	1	0.04
St. Leonard Foster Lane	9	0.40	8	0.33	20	0.80
St. Magnus the Martyr	24	1.06	4	0.17	5	0.20
St. Margaret Lothbury	15	0.67	10	0.41	5	0.20
St. Margaret Moses	10	0.44	4	0.17	3	0.12
St. Margaret New Fish St.	10	0.44	7	0.29	10	0.40
St. Margaret Pattens	7	0.31	3	0.12	3	0.12
St. Martin Ludgate	36	1.60	21	0.87	27	1.07
St. Martin Orgar	15	0.67	14	0.58	11	0.44
St. Martin Outwich	12	0.53	8	0.33	1	0.04
St. Martin Pomary	1	0.04	4	0.17	3	0.12
St. Martin Vintry	21	0.93	23	0.95	31	1.23
St. Mary Abchurch	18	0.80	11	0.45	6	0.24
St. Mary Aldermanbury	17	0.75	22	0.91	11	0.44
St. Mary Aldermary	19	0.84	4	0.17	4	0.16
St. Mary Bothaw	5	0.22	6	0.25	4	0.16
St. Mary le Bow	8	0.35	6	0.25	5	0.20
St. Mary Colechurch	6	0.27	2	0.08	1	0.04
St. Mary at Hill	20	0.89	13	0.54	13	0.52
St. Mary Magdalen Milk St.	8	0.35	5	0.21	3	0.12
St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish St.	17	0.75	21	0.87	21	0.84
St. Mary Mounthaw	1	0.04	16	0.66	7	0.28
St. Mary Somerset	26	1.15	21	0.87	17	0.68
St. Mary Staining	3	0.13	4	0.17	4	0.16
St. Mary Woolchurch	11	0.49	9	0.37	6	0.24
St. Mary Woolnoth	9	0.40	7	0.29	5	0.20
St. Matthew Friday St.	4	0.18	5	0.21	3	0.12
St. Michael Bassishaw	24	1.06	22	0.91	26	1.03
St. Michael Cornhill	33	1.46	20	0.83	4	0.16
St. Michael Crooked Lane	16	0.71	9	0.37	12	0.48
St. Michael Paternoster Royal	13	0.58	7	0.29	7	0.28
St. Michael Queenhithe	33	1.46	20	0.83	15	0.60
St. Michael-le-Querne	18	0.80	14	0.58	4	0.16
St. Michael Wood St.	12	0.53	15	0.62	6	0.24
St. Mildred Bread St.	13	0.58	5	0.21	4	0.16
St. Mildred Poultry	14	0.62	6	0.25	2	0.08
St. Nicholas Acon	8	0.35	8	0.33	6	0.24
St. Nicholas Cole Abbey	13	0.58	20	0.83	20	0.80
St. Nicholas Olave	8	0.35	6	0.25	3	0.12
St. Olave Hart St.	16	0.71	19	0.79	18	0.72
St. Olave Old Jewry	5	0.22	5	0.21	4	0.16
St. Olave Silver St.	4	0.18	16	0.66	21	0.84
St. Olave Southwark	1	0.04	31	1.28	95	3.78
St. Pancras Soper Lane	7	0.31	6	0.25	0	0.00
St. Peter Cornhill	21	0.93	6	0.25	4	0.16
St. Peter Paul's Wharf	9	0.40	10	0.41	6	0.24
St. Peter Le Poor	14	0.62	9	0.37	4	0.16

St. Peter Westcheap	17	0.75	12	0.50	3	0.12
St. Saviour Southwark	1	0.04	24	0.99	68	2.70
St. Sepulchre	281	12.47	217	8.97	154	6.13
St. Stephen Coleman St.	28	1.24	23	0.95	48	1.91
St. Stephen Walbrook	9	0.40	6	0.25	2	0.08
St. Swithin	17	0.75	20	0.83	10	0.40
St. Thomas the Apostle	16	0.71	21	0.87	31	1.23
St. Vedast Foster Lane	26	1.15	15	0.62	19	0.76
Whitefriars Precinct	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.08
Total City & liberties	2251	99.78	2357	97.51	2161	86.09
Other parishes						
Aveley Essex	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.04
Croydon	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.04
Deptford	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.04
East Bedfont	0	0.00	2	0.08	0	0.00
East Greenwich	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.08
Lewisham	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.08
Nutfield, Surrey	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.04
Putney	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.04
St. Mary Rotherhithe	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.04
St. Clement Danes	0	0.00	4	0.17	24	0.95
St. Dunstan Stepney	0	0.00	0	0.00	29	1.15
St. Giles in the Fields	0	0.00	7	0.29	22	0.88
St. James Clerkenwell	1	0.04	12	0.50	25	0.99
St. John Hackney	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	0.60
St. Katherine by the Tower	0	0.00	2	0.08	10	0.40
St. Leonard Shoreditch	2	0.09	7	0.29	53	2.11
St. Margaret Westminster	0	0.00	4	0.17	15	0.60
St. Martin in the Fields	0	0.00	2	0.08	27	1.07
St. Mary Islington	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.12
St. Mary Lambeth	0	0.00	1	0.04	1	0.04
St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey	0	0.00	7	0.29	39	1.55
St. Mary Newington	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	0.28
St. Mary Savoy	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.08
St. Mary Whitechapel	0	0.00	12	0.50	68	2.70
St. Paul Covent Garden	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.08
St. Peter ad Vincula	0	0.00	2	0.08	0	0.00
West Ham	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.04
Total other parishes	3	0.13	62	2.57	353	14.04
Total	2,254	100.00	2,419	100.00	2,514	100.00

Chapter 3 The lives of the children

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will consider the question of what life was like for the children under the care of Christ's Hospital, both in London and in the country. Detailed information of the day to day lives of the children is difficult to find, and there are no first-hand accounts of life under the care of the hospital from this period, meaning that an impression of daily life must be gleaned from entries in the hospital records. The main difficulty in assessing the day to day lives of the children is that the available records are administrative and kept for and by the governors rather than the nurses and employees involved in delivering care. There are no first-hand accounts of life as a child of the hospital during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries apart from some comments on the grammar school master by David Baker, a day pupil who later became Father Augustine Baker,¹ and some eighteenth-century descriptions of life in the hospital by Samuel Coleridge and Leigh Hunt, both Christ's Hospital children.² Another difficulty with the available hospital records is that the information is not recorded consistently throughout the whole period 1552-1666, and there are also periods where records have not survived. The information presented in this chapter is therefore drawn from a number of different sources, some outside of the period, in order that as complete a picture as possible can emerge.

The chapter will look first in section 3.2 at the daily routine of the children, from rising in the morning until retiring at night. As stated above there are limited Christ's Hospital records that describe the daily life, so this section uses other sources, some of which are from later periods. Section 3.3 will go on to discuss the public profile of the children, and the ways in which the hospital used the presence of the children at public events, such as the Spital sermons, to keep the hospital's work in the public mind and encourage donations. Educating the children was of primary importance, so

¹ *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker and other documents relating to the English Benedictines*, ed. by Justin McCann and Hugh Connolly (London: Catholic Record Society, 1933), pp. 31-40.

² For example, *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, vol 1*, ed. by Ernest Hartley Coleridge (London: William Heinemann, 1895); Leigh Hunt, *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries*, vol. 1 (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1850).

the section 3.4 will examine the educational provision at the hospital, including a discussion of the influence of benefactors to the hospital on this.

As Christ's Hospital did not only care for children within its own walls, section 3.5 will examine those children sent to nurse in the country and in London.

3.2 Daily routine

As noted above gaining a comprehensive picture of day to day life at the hospital is difficult, so much of this section will rely on sources outside the hospital records and sources from the eighteenth century to try and create as full a picture as possible.

Children at Christ's Hospital would be woken from their shared beds at 6 a.m. by the ringing of a bell. Howes recounts that a Mr. Calthrope, one of the organising committee of thirty citizens, was responsible in 1552 for providing 500 feather beds, 500 pads of straw to be laid under the beds, 1,000 sheets and as many blankets as possible up to a cost of 1,000 marks.³ The 500 beds were for St. Thomas's and Christ's Hospital; as St. Thomas's was to admit 300 patients, and presumably the beds also had to accommodate staff; there were clearly not enough beds for one each. Roll call was at 6.30 a.m., leaving the children half an hour to wash and dress before the ward nurse presented them to the steward and matron 'in a handsome and cleanly dress, and then and there make complaint of what misdemeanours have been Acted by their children the night past'.⁴ Washing facilities were rudimentary and it was not until 1689 that the court thought it 'very advisable that a convenient bath that will hold 6 children at the least be made', the current arrangements being 'a sett of small cocks neare the Wash-house for all the children to wash themselves separately'.⁵

The children's day was structured around mealtimes, religious observance, school, chores, and a limited amount of free time. The first order of the school day was for the children to 'make prayers and suplicacon unto Almighty God', overseen by the usher. Morning school lasted until 11 a.m. when there was a two-hour break, afternoon school lasting from 1 p.m. until 5 p.m.⁶ It is difficult to ascertain the

³ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 31.

⁴ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 251.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ C.M.B., vol 6, p. 22.

amount of free time the children were permitted, or how they used it, although David Baker implies that on Sundays the children went to church twice, in the morning and evening.⁷ The education of the children will be discussed in Section 3.4.

Breakfast, according to a menu of 1678, consisted of 2½ ounces of bread and a ‘supp of drink’,⁸ and had to be consumed within the first hour of the day as school started at 7 a.m. The records of the hospital do not make it easy to accurately ascertain the daily diet of the children, since the account books only record amounts of money spent on food. Expenditure on food is discussed in Chapter 6, but here I will try to assess the reality of the children’s diet. Bread was supplied from Bridewell, at least for some of the period. A court minute entry from November 1557 records that ‘the bread to serve this house shall be made hereafter at Bridewell, and to deliver 3 loaves for 2d. and any loaf to contain 20 ounces’.⁹ The contract for the supply of meat was awarded annually at Shrovetide. The process for this is not known but it appears to have been competitive. On 13 April 1590 an agreement was made with William Clover ‘to serve this hospital with beaf and mutton veale or lamb from this time forwards until shrovetide night’.¹⁰ For the year 1591/2 Francis Greene was to provide beef, mutton and veal, ‘the bones to be taken out of the beef, for one whole year to end at Shrovetide 1592 at 14d per stone one with another, and the same beef to be wholesome for the children’s bodies’.¹¹ A year later the contract was given to William Hawer but at 11d per stone.¹²

The earliest weekly menu that I have been able to find dates from 1678.¹³ It is difficult to quantify the amount of food the children were given or compare it to other institutions. Ian Archer has examined the diet sheets from Bridewell in 1600. There are many difficulties in comparing these with the diet of the children at Christ’s Hospital, not least that the Bridewell diet is for adults, and also differentiates between inmates according to the work they did. The diet at Bridewell was also

⁷ *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker*, ed. by McCann and Connolly, p.33.

⁸ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 176.

⁹ C.M.B., vol. 1.

¹⁰ C.M.B., vol 2, f. 406.

¹¹ Manzione, *Christ’s Hospital*, p. 106.

¹² Pearce, *Annals*, p. 175.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 176.

ordered to be ‘onely suffizing to susteyne them in health’.¹⁴ A comparison between the Christ’s Hospital diet, the 1713 Quaker Workhouse at Clerkenwell diet, and the 1736 diet of the St. James Workhouse in Westminster can be seen in figure 3-6 in the appendix to this chapter.¹⁵ The Clerkenwell diet sheet is specifically for children, at some meals differentiating between smaller and bigger children. The diet from St. James is for inmates aged six and above. The Clerkenwell diet is also more directly comparable with Christ’s Hospital than the Bridewell diet as, like that of Christ’s, it wasn’t designed to be punitive. In May 1713 Richard Hutton, the steward of the house, petitioned the governing committee to increase the allowance of food for the residents, ‘that there may be no uneasiness in the family or reflecting on the plentiful provisions of the house’,¹⁶ after complaints by some residents that the diet was inadequate. A new diet was ordered in August 1713 with increased portions.¹⁷ Likewise the St. James diet was also more generous than those of other poor houses of the period.¹⁸

All three institutions served meat at lunch three times a week, with the children at Christ’s Hospital having meat twice on Sundays – boiled beef at lunch and roast mutton at the evening meal. Adam Fox has shown that in the 1690s less than half of the population of England could afford to eat meat every day, and one-third were unable to have it more than twice a week whilst a further one-fifth ate it only once a week.¹⁹ By this measure the children at Christ’s were eating reasonably well; however, in common with the Clerkenwell and Westminster workhouses the diet at Christ’s was also heavily reliant on dairy products. The English clergyman William Harrison, in his 1587 *Description of England* said that ‘white meats, milked butter & cheese... are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort’, whilst the

¹⁴ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 191.

¹⁵ *Richard Hutton's Complaints Book: The Notebook of the Steward of the Quaker Workhouse At Clerkenwell, 1711-1737*, ed. by Timothy V Hitchcock (London: London Record Society, 1987), pp. 96-101; Timothy V. Hitchcock, *The English Workhouse: A Study in Institutional Poor Relief in Selected Counties, 1696-1750* (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1985) pp. 171-4.

¹⁶ Hitchcock, *Complaints Book*, p.4.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 96-101.

¹⁸ Hitchcock, *English Workhouse*, pp. 173-4.

¹⁹ Adam Fox, A. ‘Food, Drink and Social Distinction in Early Modern England’, in *Remaking English society: social relations and social change in early modern England*, ed. by Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard and John Walter, Studies in early modern cultural, political and social history, 14 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), p. 173.

wealthy 'doo feed upon the flesh of all kinds of cattell... all sorts of fish... and such diversitie of wilde and tame foules'.²⁰

Vegetables are not mentioned either in the Christ's Hospital diet or those of the workhouses. This was common practice, even though vegetables were eaten. No purchases of vegetables are recorded in the account books of the hospital, but it may be that they were recorded separately and accounted for within the 'necessaries' category. However, the children of the hospital were known to have suffered from scurvy, which may have been the result of a lack of fruit and vegetables, or possibly that they were scorbutic when admitted. William Clowes, who was surgeon at Christ's Hospital from 1576 to 1586,²¹ recorded: 'I have cured manie sore mouthes specially in children when I was Chiurgion (sic) unto the children of Christs Hospitall, where I have had twenty, or thirty infected with the scorby at a time.'²² It is risky to extrapolate from the experiences of children at a later date, but it is interesting to note that Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who was at Christ's Hospital 1782-1791, complained that there were no vegetables served during his time there. In a letter to Robert Poole dated 19 February 1798 he describes the food he was given, which is very similar to the diet shown in figure 3-6, and he says of it: 'Our food was portioned; and excepting on Wednesdays, I never had a belly full. Our appetites were damped, never satisfied; and we had no vegetables.'²³ Coleridge's disparagement of the meals at Christ's Hospital is shared by a near contemporary, Leigh Hunt, who said of the food: 'To say the truth, we were not too well fed at that time, either in quantity or quality.' He goes on to describe the meat served as 'consisting of a small slice, such as would be given to an infant three or four years old. Yet even that, with all our hunger, we very often left half-eaten; the meat was so tough'.²⁴

Fish was also eaten by the children, as evidenced by entries in the account books, although it is only recorded as a separate item between 1590-99 and 1602-7. The treasurer's account books are of limited value in trying to assess the children's diet due to the differences in recording items in different years, and this is discussed more

²⁰ William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. by Georges Edelen (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968) p. 126.

²¹ I. G. Murray, 'Clowes, William (1543/4–1604), surgeon', *ODNB* [accessed 6 April 2018].

²² William Clowes, *A profitable and necessarie booke of obseruations, for all those that are burned with the flame of gun powder, &c.* (London, 1596), p. 42.

²³ Coleridge, *Letters*, p.18.

²⁴ Hunt, *Autobiography*, pp. 105-6.

fully in Chapter 6. The children also benefitted from occasional meals left as bequests. Randolph Wooley gave fifty shillings in 1615 for a dinner for the children on Easter day,²⁵ and the accounts for 1665 list the receipt of £3, 10s 2d as ‘a dyner of roasting beef for the children the gift of Mrs Katherine Wickins deceased’.²⁶

Overall, the children seem to have received a diet that could be described as a generous workhouse diet. According to John Howes, Queen Mary ordered an inquisition into Christ’s Hospital, ‘to the ende they shoulde have moved the king & Quene to restore the Greyffriers again to their former places’. A delegation of Spanish friars visited the hospital, one of whom, Friar John, observed the children at a meal where, ‘seing them served wth meate, he was so wrapped in admyracon that soddenly he burst oute in to teares & saide in Lattin to the company that he had rather be a Scullion in their kytchin then stewarde to the kinge’,²⁷ although ‘meate’ in this context could refer to food in general.

It is difficult to accurately gauge the level of care given to the children by the nurses, although there is some evidence of low standards. In May 1641 Rebeckah Robson was described as ‘a woman full of contention and brawling’; she argued with another nurse and ‘threwe a dish of scalding pottage in her eyes and face, that she hath not been able to come from her bed nor hold up her Eyes’. At the same time another nurse was disciplined for calling the children ‘untoward names’.²⁸ However there is also evidence that the governors were concerned with the day to day care of the children. A court on 15th January 1612/13 ordered that:

whereas there are diverse young women who have children harboured in this house that some one or more of them shall be sent for weekly to helpe the nurses of this house to wash paying them vid for every day that they shall so helpe. And from henceforth none of the children of this house shall helpe the saide nurses to wash as hereforeto they have done because the same hath and is a greate hinderance to their learning a spoile to their apparrall and an impaying of their health.²⁹

By 1664 it appears that the 1612 order was not being adhered to as the court felt it necessary to restate the order saying that: ‘The children of this hospitall should noe

²⁵ Blanch, *The Blue-Coat Boys*, p. 35.

²⁶ T.A., vol. 9, 1665/6.

²⁷ Howes, *Manuscript*, pp. 66-9.

²⁸ Pearce, *Annals*, pp. 249-250.

²⁹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 152.

longer wash dishes in their wards for that the Arches of the cloysters are much dammied, nor to wash the dishes anywhere else... for that they spoyle their Apparell which order some of the Nurses have refused to observe. This court thereupon confirmed the said order.'³⁰ It seems clear from the 1612/13 order that, prior to this point, children had been routinely involved in performing day-to-day chores.

3.3 The public face of the children

The distinctive blue uniform was an important aspect of showcasing the work of the hospital to citizens of the city, and from the beginning the children were displayed at public occasions in the city. The sight of the children in their livery made visible the work the city was doing to alleviate suffering, and the sight of several hundred children in their livery was a more uplifting sight than the inmates of Bridewell or St. Thomas's. The first instance of this occurred in 1552 when John Stow wrote: 'On Christmas day in the afternoone, while the Lord Mayor and Aldermen rode to Powles, and children of Christs Hospitall stood, from saint Lawrence lane end in Cheape, towards Powles, all in one liuery of russet cotten, 340. in number. And at Easter next, they were in blew at the spittle, and haue continued euer since.'³¹ The following Easter Henry Machyn in his chronicle describes the children at the Spital sermons on 3 April 1553:

The third day of April went unto St. Mary Spital unto the sermon all the masters and rulers and schoolmasters and mistresses and all the children, both men and women children, all in blue coats and wenches in blue frocks and with escutcheons embroidered on their sleeves with the arms of London and red capes. And so two and two together. And every man in his place and office. And so at the hospital was made of timber and covered with canvas and sets one above another, for all the children sit one above another like steps.³²

The Spital sermons were a component of the Easter ceremonies of the City. Five sermons were preached in total, beginning on Good Friday at Paul's Cross. Three sermons were preached at the Spital Cross which stood in the old churchyard of St.

³⁰ C.M.B., vol 6, f. 68.

³¹ Stow, 'Faringdon ward' *Survey*, pp. 310-344.

³² Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550-1563, by Henry Machyn: Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/>, f.17r.

Mary Spital. The Spital Sermons were traditionally associated with appeals for charity, so it is unsurprising that the children of Christ's Hospital were very visible attendees, being housed in a covered pavilion.³³ In 1628, following an intervention by the Lord Mayor, the pavilion was rebuilt as the existing one was 'in greate danger to fall'.³⁴ From at least 1610 the children sang a psalm with words written by the grammar school master and with music by the music master. It is unclear when this practice started but it is likely that it follows Robert Dow's endowment for a music school in 1609. In 1610, it was ordered by the court that 'all the sermons preached at pauls crosse shallbe fairly written out by the children of this house which are schollers in the grammar school, and so many of the coppies thereof as shallbe sould, the third part thereof shallbe and remaine to the use of the said children'.³⁵ It is not known how much money was raised in this way. The first of these in 1610 was titled *A Psalme of thansgiuing to be sung by the Children of Christs Hospitall, on Munday in the Easter holy dayes, at Saint Mary Spittle, for their Founders and Benefactors*.³⁶ After the words and music for the psalm, there are reports on the number of children cared for at Christ's Hospital, and adults at St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew and Bridewell. There are no further reports of this type until 1628 when the reports were generally titled *A true report of the great costs and charges of the four hospitals in the city of London in the maintenance of their great number of poore*,³⁷ or some variation on this.

Dolly MacKinnon has shown that the singing of psalms and hymns of thanksgiving by the poor was an important expression of post-reformation charity, with music being seen as a way of reforming and redeeming the soul and which was particularly powerful when sung by orphaned children.³⁸ The hymns sung by the children all followed a theme of defining themselves as poor orphans then expressing gratitude to

³³ Susi Jeans, 'The Easter Psalms of Christ's Hospital', *Journal of the Royal Music Association*, 88 (1961-2), p. 47.

³⁴ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 443.

³⁵ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 120.

³⁶ [Anon.], *A psalme of thanksgiuing, to be sung by the children of Christs Hospitall, on Munday in the Easter holy dayes, at Saint Mary Spittle, for their founders and benefactors Anno Domini. 1610* (London: s.n, 1610).

³⁷ [Anon.], *A true report of the great costs and charges of the foure hospitals, in the city of London in the maintenance of their great number of poore, this present yeare, 1644, as followeth* (London: s.n, 1644).

³⁸ Dolly MacKinnon, 'Hearing the Poor: Experiencing the Sounds of Charity in Early Modern England' in *Experiences of Charity, 1250-1650*, ed. by Anne M. Scott (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 242.

God, the Monarch, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of London for their deliverance from poverty, followed by an exhortation to the citizens of London to continue their support. The following from 1628 is a typical example.

Chorus

From depth of heart, mou'd by desart, wee Orphants meane and poore
To Christ our King doe praises sing, for plenty and for store.

Verse

Great and most gracious is the Lord, to all that he hath made,
The poore distrest by him are blest, each state by him is stai'd:
Yea God which rules the hearts of Kings, a godly King did moue,
To worke our weale, our griefes to heale, and Patrone deare to proue,
Whose prudent care did soone appeare the ground-worke of our loy, in
thee (O Cittie of the Lord) to shield vs from annoy.

Chorus

O London, blessed maist thou be, with plentie, peace, and rest,
A Staffe thou art to impotent, a Prop to poore opprest.
Eyes to the blind, Feete to the lame, Fathers to Orphants poore,
You are, O worthy Citizens, praise be to God therefore.
And as your bread, thus bounteously, you on these waters cast,
The Lord grant you may find the same, an hundred fold at last.

Chorus

Powre downe thy blessings on our King, prolong his peacefull Raigne,
And grant his Subiects loyall proue, thy peace for to maintaine.
Our Noble Queene with grace iinspire, the Councell graue instruct,
The Peeres and Nobles of this Land with pietie conduct.
Blesse (Lord) the Maior, and Aldermen, and Commons of this Citie,
For their great care of our welfare, and moue them still to pittie.

Chorus³⁹

It is not known how successful the Spital Sermons were in terms of fund raising, as the treasurer's accounts do not record collections from this source separately, but they were undoubtedly important in maintaining the profile of the hospital within the city.

Another way in which children were visible within the city was through attendance at funerals. Bequests to Christ's Hospital in return for the attendance of children at the funeral were relatively common. Vanessa Harding has noted the combining of the spiritual and secular in early modern funeral rites, as well as the way in which a person's funeral could be used to reflect their social status,⁴⁰ and for a legacy of one

³⁹ [Anon.], *A psalme of thanks-giuing, to be sung by the children of Christs Hospitall, on Munday in Easter holy dayes, at Saint Maries Spittle, for their founders and benefactors* (London: s.n, 1628).

⁴⁰ Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1550-1670* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 179-181.

or two pounds the attendance of Christ's Hospital children was a way of demonstrating social status and also making a public show of charitable giving to the poor.

Wealthy donors could expect up to 100 children to attend their funerals. Henry Machyn noted the funeral of John Heath on 22 March 1553 saying: 'And there went before him a hundred children of Grey Friars, boys and girls, two and two together, and he gave them shirts and smocks and girdles and handkerchiefs. And after they had wine and figs and good ale'. It appears likely that the children were the beneficiaries of the wine, figs and ale as other mourners partook of a 'great dinner'.

⁴¹ Similarly Pepys attended the funeral of Sir Thomas Vyner, 'Which was with the blue-coat boys and old men, all the Aldermen, and Lord Mayor, &c., and the number of the company very great.'⁴²

John Howes in his second manuscript advocated the public display of the children saying that 'everey sonday there might be x or xii of the children placed at paules Crosse... where they may stand in the vewe of all the people'. He goes on to suggest that they also be displayed in Westminster Hall every day 'where they may stand in the vewe of all estatts and degres', and also in a chapel of St. Paul's.⁴³

The children were also present at royal processions, although the first such occasion when Queen Mary entered the city in 1553 was not a success, as, in a snub to the protestant institution of Christ's Hospital, Mary ignored the governors and children: 'Ye Governos sette vp a stage withoute Allgate & placed themselves & the children vppon the stage. And prepared a childe of the free schoole to make an oracon to hir, but when shee came nere vnto them shee cast hir eie another waie & never stayed nor gave any countnnce to them.'⁴⁴ At the restoration Charles II was more accommodating at his coronation. The children were in a gallery on the north side of St. Paul's and a speech was made by one of the children. The treasurer reported to the court on 3 May 1661, the day after the coronation, that 'His Majesty was graciously pleased to heare the speech throughout spoken by James Hewlett one of

⁴¹ Machyn, *Chronicle*, f. 16v.

⁴² Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, <https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1665/06/01/>.

⁴³ John Howes, 'Second "famyliar and frendly discourse dialogue wyse", 1587', in *Tudor Economic Documents, Being Select Documents Illustrating the Economic and Social History of Tudor England* vol. 3, ed. by R.H. Tawney and Eileen Power (London: Longman, 1924), p. 434.

⁴⁴ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 64.

the Children now remaining in this hospitall, And that his Majesty with the Nobillitie seemed to be very well pleased with the sight of the said children (there being present above 700)'.⁴⁵

The uniform, consisting of a long blue gown and yellow stockings for the boys, and a long blue gown for the girls, open at the front under which was a yellow petticoat and yellow stockings, became synonymous with charity schools across the country. A 'blue coat' school, Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, was founded in Bristol in 1586, at which the founder John Carr stipulated that the children should be dressed 'like Christ's Hospital nigh St. Bartholomew's in London'. Richard Aldworth, a benefactor of Christ's Hospital, founded the Reading Blue Coat School, and Chetham's Hospital was founded in Manchester in 1656, both of which modelled the children's clothing on the uniform of Christ's Hospital.⁴⁶ The public association between the blue livery and charity was not universally welcomed, however, and in 1646/7 Edward Leake was discharged from the hospital 'in regard the father thinks it a shame for the childe to weare the blew coate'.⁴⁷ The colour yellow for the stockings and petticoats was chosen as it was thought to have anti-lice properties. The court in 1638 ordered that the linings of the coats should be 'dyed yallowe as well as ye petticoats to avoid vermin by reason the white cottens is held to breed the same'.⁴⁸

3.4 Education

The hospital's mission was to care for and prepare the children when adults 'to honestly exercise themselves in some good faculty and science for the advantage and utility of the commonwealth'.⁴⁹ Boys who had been identified as academically able could find themselves bound for university, although the number who achieved this is tiny in comparison to the total number of children. The destinations of children leaving the hospital are discussed in Chapter 4, but the schooling provided by Christ's Hospital was crucial to the placement of children afterwards.

⁴⁵ C.M.B., vol. 5, p. 854.

⁴⁶ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*. p. 35.

⁴⁷ C.R., vol. 3, f. 61.

⁴⁸ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 187.

⁴⁹ 'Letters Patent of Edward VI', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 65.

Education at Christ's Hospital must be looked at in the wider context of education in England during the period. Many historians have noted the expansion in the provision of schooling during this period,⁵⁰ Lawrence Stone going so far as to describe an 'educational revolution'.⁵¹ The type and purpose of education, however, is what will be discussed here. Much has been written about the influence the ideas of humanist thinkers such as Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives and John Colet had on education, and the belief that widespread education could be a means of improving society as a whole. John Colet re-founded St. Paul's Grammar school in 1512, often seen as a model for many new grammar schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 'desiring nothing more than education and bringing up children in good manners and literature'.⁵² Colet's school was unusual in being independent of clerical control, being governed by the Mercers' Company.

Miu Sugahara points out however that, whilst widespread education may be seen by the humanists to be beneficial to all, the potential disruption to the social order was not. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer supported the idea of educating the poor; on the criteria for admission to the cathedral school at Canterbury he argued that 'if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child who is apt enter the room',⁵³ but he also stressed the overarching authority of the crown and state.⁵⁴ Sugahara says that from the 1530s the tone of the debate over universal education became more nuanced, with the idea that universal education did not equal education for all and that a distinction could be made between types of education according to either aptitude or one's station in life, as exemplified by Thomas Starkey's assertion that training or education should be provided for children over the age of seven 'according as their nature requireth'.⁵⁵ Rosemary O'Day says that the argument over education for the poor fell into two broad views, the idea that

⁵⁰ Miu Sugahara, *The livery companies' management of suburban grammar schools in early modern London* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2011), p. 14; David Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 16.3 (1976), p. 301.

⁵¹ Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past & Present*, 28 (1964), p. 68.

⁵² David Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), p. 47.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵⁴ Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 16.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

the poor should receive an academic education, and the idea that they should be educated for practical industrial training.⁵⁶

John Howes, in his first manuscript detailing the foundation of the hospitals, makes no mention of the type of schooling the children were to receive, apart from listing the schoolmasters and ushers along with other officers employed. In his second manuscript of 1587, reviewing the first years of the hospitals, he has more to say on the subject. He is critical of schooling at Christ's Hospital, arguing that the grammar school 'is a longe and tedious school' and that for those unable to proceed to university, 'there latten tonge standeth them in little stead'.⁵⁷ He argues for a more vocational education, saying that the children should be taught 'to wright diuers kinds of hands, as Secretory, Court hand, Chancery hand, Romaine hand, and such others as the children shalbe founde most aptest to lerne, as also to read all kinds of hands, to sipher and kepe accounts'.⁵⁸ He goes on to call for the children to be taught 'to play uppon all sortes of instruments' in order to better their chances in life 'and stand them in as good stede as frends and mony, which riche men do bestowe with their children'. He sums up by saying that 'writinge, readinge, sipheringe, and singinge are sooner obtained and with lesse charge, and serve better for any mans purpose'.⁵⁹

From the outset Christ's Hospital provided both academic and vocational training. A grammar school was established from the beginning with the expectation 'that suche of the children as be pregnant and very apt to learninge, be reserved and kept in the grammer-schole, in hope of preferment to the Vniversitie; where they may be virtuously educated, and in time become learned and good members in the commonweale'.⁶⁰ Children thought unsuitable for the grammar school were to be trained using the facilities at Bridewell to learn a trade, although it is unclear how these arrangements actually worked. It is true that a number of boys did go on to either Oxford or Cambridge, but the number was low: only fifty-five boys could be

⁵⁶ Rosemary O'Day, *Education and society 1500-1800: The social foundations of education in early modern Britain* (London: Longman, 1982), p. 241.

⁵⁷ Howes, '2nd manuscript', in *Tudor Economic Documents*, ed. by Tawney and Power, p. 435.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 90.

identified as doing so between 1566 and 1666.⁶¹ In 1574 Nicholas Van Buescum asked for ‘a conveyent place within thospitall of St. Thomas or Brydewell to make pynnes and there to teache and instructe certeyn of the poore children of Christes Hospitall in the sayd arte of makyinge of pynnes’.⁶² It is also unclear how many children were actually trained at Bridewell. Entries in the court minute books for 1622 detail four children being taught a trade at Bridewell whilst having their meals at Christ’s, and also a place being made available at Bridewell for twelve children to be taught thread making and flax spinning.⁶³

There was also an interchange of children between Christ’s and Bridewell, with younger children from Bridewell being transferred to Christ’s Hospital, and older children from Christ’s to Bridewell. A court at Bridewell in April 1644 was attended by one of the governors of Christ’s Hospital in order to discuss ‘five little girls and one little boy who are so young and small that they are not able to labour in the works of this hospital’. The Bridewell court asked that these children be transferred to Christ’s until they were twelve years of age, and in return they would take ‘five boys of the like ages from them presently, and bind them apprentices to artmasters in this hospital, and free Christ’s hospital from any farther charge of them’.⁶⁴ This was obviously not a routine arrangement as the Bridewell court was still waiting for a response to its request a month later when it instructed Mr. Deputy Arnold ‘to speak to Mr. Treasurer Babbington, and to know his resolution concerning the little children here to be received into Christ’s Hospital’.⁶⁵ The placement of children at Bridewell is examined in Chapter 5.

The type of schooling available at Christ’s Hospital was also influenced by benefactors to the hospital. Lady Mary Ramsey left money in 1601 ‘to maintain in the said hospital a writing school, with a master and usher to teach as well poor men’s children of the city of London as children of the said hospital to write and cast

⁶¹ Allan, *Exhibitioners*, pp. 15-27; Foster, J. (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1891), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714> [accessed 20 April 2020]; *ACAD - A Cambridge Alumni Database*, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/> [accessed 20 April 2020]

⁶² Pearce, *Annals*, p. 171.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.

⁶⁴ ‘Easter report 1644’ in *Extracts from the Records and Court Books of Bridewell Hospital*, ed. by Thomas Bowen (London, 1798), p. 31.

⁶⁵ Pearce, *Annals*, pp. 170-171.

accounts'.⁶⁶ Robert Dowe likewise gave money for the education of Christ's Hospital children 'to have them trained up in the exercise of good letters, to bring them to preferment, and to keepe them from the snares of Idlenes (the path to perdition)'. He 'hath in tender regard of their good, and the Commonwealths benefit, given furtherance to ye Schoolemaister of Christs Hospitall, to nourish them in the knowledge of the latine tongue, and such as are not capable thereof, to be instructed in wryting, and casting account, and to be placed and preferred to severall trades and mysteries, wherby they may grow in time to be happie members of this honorable citie'.⁶⁷ Dowe also established a music school at the hospital, which is discussed below, and he will also be considered further in Chapter 6 when discussing the influence of wealthy benefactors to the hospital.

The type of education at Christ's Hospital is surprisingly undefined and little discussed in hospital records. The 1557 *Order of the Hospitals* lists the charges of governors and officers of the hospital, but the schoolmaster's charge is not among them.⁶⁸ Howes lists the officers of the hospital in his first manuscript. These were: a grammar school master with an annual allowance of £15; an usher for the grammar school paid £10 per annum; and two masters for the petty school, each earning £2 13s 4d. There was a further teacher of 'pricksonge' paid £2 13s 4d, and the clerk John Watson was paid £3 6s 8d to teach the children to write in addition to his clerk's salary of £10.⁶⁹ The levels of remuneration for the school masters are discussed further below.

There is no mention of any teaching for the girls, and at the opening of the hospital it is unclear what education, if any, the girls received, although it can be inferred that they were taught spinning, from Howes' description of that as 'the profession of the poorer sorte from whom there can come no preferment'. He argued instead that they should be taught 'soinge in silke, silver and goulde, in workings of sondrye kinds of laces, and such other things whiche wold be more profitable to the house and allsoe a greater preferment to the Children'.⁷⁰ The girls were taught to read, from

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 147.

⁶⁷ Anthony Nixon, *Londons doue: or A memoriall of the life and death of Maister Robert Dove, citizen and marchant-taylor of London and of his severall almesdeeds and large bountie to the poore, in his life time* (London, 1612).

⁶⁸ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, pp. 83-107.

⁶⁹ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 36.

⁷⁰ Howes, '2nd manuscript', in *Tudor Economic Documents*, ed. by Tawney and Power, p. 436.

at least 1625/6, when Dorothy Ffarant was paid to teach them reading as well as sewing. Her salary of £1 being funded by a bequest from Mary Winters deceased 'for teaching the girles of this house to read'.⁷¹ Benefactions of this type were often gender specific and for a particular purpose. In 1631/2 she was paid £4 as 'the gifte of a gent unknown'.⁷² In 1635/6 there are two payments of £4 to her, one described as 'the gifte of a gent unknown', and the other 'the gifte of another gent unknown'.⁷³ In 1639/40 the total had increased to £10 in two separate payments of £4 and £6, and the following year the total was £12.⁷⁴ Ffarant left the school in 1641 and was given £10 'for a benevolence granted by the governors of this house upon her departure from this hospital'. She was replaced by Katherine Surker who was initially paid £14 10s in 1642/3, which rose to £14 15s the following year.⁷⁵ By 1663 the girls were being taught to write by the usher of the writing school William James, who was paid a supplement of £4 on top of his usher's salary.⁷⁶ It is not clear if the girls were always taught to write as well as read. In contrast to the boys the girls were expected to contribute to the economy of the hospital by making some of the garments worn by the children and 'The Children's coates, petticoats, and other things weare always made by the children of this house in the Taylor's shopp'.⁷⁷

In addition to teaching the children of the hospital the schools also admitted many day pupils from the city, some paying the school master, and some as free pupils. An examination of the grammar school in 1581 showed that there were fifteen 'howse children' and sixty-four 'towne children' in the upper school, and twenty-seven 'howse children' and fifty-one 'towne children' in the lower school. At this time there was more than double the number of town than house children. The town children are separated into two categories, paying pupils and those 'w'oute bills' or free students.⁷⁸ The practice of allowing schoolmasters to take paying students continued throughout the period of this study, though the number varied. A committee was appointed by the court in 1612 to 'look into the orders of the grammar schoole to make an agreement between the master and usher of the same as

⁷¹ T.A., vol. 5, 1625/6.

⁷² Ibid, 1631/2.

⁷³ T.A., vol. 6, 1635/6.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 1639/40.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 1642.

⁷⁶ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 145 v.

⁷⁷ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 170.

⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 65-66.

touching the allowance of such pay schollers as they are by the orders of this house to have'.⁷⁹ It reported the following year that 'wheras by the said orders there is allowed to the school master of the grammar school the benefit of 20 schollers for his advantage... we do think it meete to allow him 10 schollars more' and that 'as heretofore the usher of the said schoole hath had the allowance of 10 schollers for his allowance and commodite we likewise think fitt to allow him 5 schollers more for his better encouragement to perform his dutie'.⁸⁰ In 1661 the court increased the number of paying scholars allowed to eighty in total saying that the master and usher of the grammar school were 'honest men and discharge their place faithfully and the schoole is at present in a fflourishing condition there being 80 house children therin. We think fitt to propose to this court, that they may have libertie to have and take 80 pay schollers'.⁸¹ In common with other grammar schools of the period, poor boys from the locality were admitted free of charge.⁸²

Miu Sugahara makes the point that historians of early modern education universally agree that during this period teaching cannot be regarded as a profession and that there was no standardised training, nor any professional organisation of teachers. There were no specified qualifications necessary to teach apart from a licence from the church.⁸³ Since religious discord was considered a threat to the kingdom and teachers had an important role in shaping the beliefs and opinions of their charges, the licensing of teachers was more concerned with ensuring religious orthodoxy than measuring teaching prowess. Royal Injunctions of 1559 instructed 'that all teachers of children shall stir and move them to the love and due reverence of God's true religion, now truly set forth by public authority',⁸⁴ and from 1571 a licence from the bishop of the diocese was required to teach. Church canons of that year set out that the only grammar permitted to be taught was 'that which the Queens Majesty hath commanded', and that the only catechism to be used was the Latin catechism of 1570 with an English translation for children 'that are ignorant of the Latin tongue'. The chief purpose of the schoolmaster, the canons say, is to:

⁷⁹ C.M.B. vol. 3, f. 136.

⁸⁰ Ibid, f. 51.

⁸¹ C.M.B., vol 6, p. 861.

⁸² Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 158.

⁸³ Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 98.

⁸⁴ Cressy, *Education*, p. 28.

order and frame the tongues of the children that they may pronounce openly, plainly and distinctly. And as often as any sermon shall be, they shall either send them or bring them to church, that... they may be brought up in godliness; and lest they should hear it negligently, at their return to school they shall call and examine every one what they have learned out of that sermon.⁸⁵

This precept was followed by the grammar school master Ralph Waddington. David Baker, a day pupil at Christ's Hospital from 1586, who boarded with Waddington along with several other students, describes following Mr. Waddington and his wife to church on Sundays 'both morning and evening wth severall sermons at those two times' and that one of the scholars 'was caused by the master often times to write down ye preached sermon, the wch done the master would afterwards peruse it'.⁸⁶ He says of his time with Waddington that he had 'good morall education, with exercise of piety towards God, according to the manner & nature of that religion'.⁸⁷

Further canons of 1604 decreed that schoolmasters 'shall teach in English or Latin, as the Children are able to bear, the larger or shorter Catechism ... And as often as any Sermon shall be upon holy and festival Days, within the Parish where they teach, they shall bring their Scholars to the Church where such Sermon shall be made, and there see them quietly and soberly behave themselves, and shall examine them at times convenient after their return, what they have borne away of such Sermons'. Nobody could teach without a licence from the Bishop of the diocese after 'being found meet as well for his Learning and Dexterity in Teaching, as for sober and honest Conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true Religion',⁸⁸ which required subscribing to the Oath of Supremacy, the Oath of Allegiance and the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion.⁸⁹ During the civil war period, ecclesiastical control of teaching diminished but parliament and the protectorate issued ordinances that enabled them to replace or get rid of teachers for negligence, disobedience to the government or popish sympathies. At the restoration ecclesiastical licensing was resumed and additionally the 1662 Act of Uniformity required schoolmasters to repudiate the lawfulness of the rebellion.⁹⁰ At a court in 1662 the governors were

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 29.

⁸⁶ *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker*, ed. by McCann and Connolly, p.33.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Church of England, *Constitutions and canons ecclesiasticall treated upon by the Bishop of London* (London, 1604).

⁸⁹ Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 99.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

informed that Francis Soley master of the reading school 'had not subscribed according to the late Act of Parliament, [and] now had not a lycense to teach'.⁹¹ George Perkins, master of the grammar school, was similarly disbarred from teaching.⁹²

Sugahara also makes the point that the relationship between teachers and pupils was sometimes regarded as comparable to the relationship between parent and child in ensuring the moral and religious development of their charges. This was even more important at Christ's Hospital where most of the children had no other home. The importance of religion is emphasised in the various 'Orders' of 1661, for the different schools within Christ's Hospital. These contain no instruction for the academic teaching of the pupils but do contain specific orders 'That the Master and Usher of the said schoole see that their Schollers both morning and evening make prayer and supplication to Almighty God'.⁹³ One of the masters was appointed as catechiser, and his task was to 'three times in the weeke [be] carefull to instructe and Teach the poore Children of this hospitall in the fundamentall points of the Christian Religion'.⁹⁴ Although the 'Orders' are dated 1661, it is likely that similar strictures existed before this date. Howes also sees the relationship between the hospital and children as a familial one, saying that the governors should be 'as carefull for the vertuous bringing vp of theis children... as if they weare theire owne Children'.⁹⁵

Although a university degree was not a prerequisite for teaching, the possession of one became more desirable from the middle part of the sixteenth century and a number of schools, including Charterhouse in the early seventeenth century, began to see a degree as desirable in a schoolmaster.⁹⁶ There are no records within the Christ's Hospital archives that specify the qualifications necessary to teach, but of the six masters of the grammar school between 1553 and 1666, three held Masters degrees: Ralph Waddington (master 1564-1612); Thomas Hayne (master 1612-30); and Thomas Walters (master 1630-51).⁹⁷ Of the other three, Shadrach Helmes attended St. John's College Cambridge as a sizar student in 1646, but there is no record of his

⁹¹ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 109rv.

⁹² Ibid, f. 115rv.

⁹³ C.M.B., vol. 6, p. 25.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 26.

⁹⁵ Howes, '2nd manuscript', in *Tudor Economic Documents*, ed. by Tawney and Power, p. 433.

⁹⁶ Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 101.

⁹⁷ Allan, *Exhibitioners*, p. 173.

graduation.⁹⁸ There is no record of the educational background of the other two masters, John Robinson (master 1552-64) and George Perkins (master 1651-62). Perkins was a former child of Christ's Hospital, 1616-29, but apart from the year he was discharged there is no other information in the discharge record.⁹⁹ Of the five masters of either the writing or reading schools whom I have been able to identify from references in the court minutes, none appears in either *A Cambridge Alumni Database* or Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*. Of the six grammar school masters only one, Thomas Hayne (master 1612-30), merits an entry in the *ODNB*. Hayne was originally from Thrussington in Leicestershire and graduated with a B.A. from Lincoln College, Oxford in 1605 and an M.A. in 1612. He started teaching on completion of his B.A. and was second undermaster at the Merchant Taylors' School in London between 1605 and 1608. He moved to Christ's Hospital in 1608 to become usher of the grammar school under Ralph Waddington, who by this time had been master for forty-four years and was infirm and blind. By January 1611 Waddington was reported to be 'weake and ffeeble by age so that he is not of abilitie to performe his dutie in teaching', and the governors asked Waddington if he would be willing to retire 'and to enjoy the stipends and other profits that he doth now receive'. Hayne became master the following month when Waddington said that he was 'verie willing to leave the schoole to the said Mr Heines'.¹⁰⁰

Hayne left Christ's Hospital in 1630 and went on to publish several religious tracts beginning in 1632 with *The Equall Wayes of God*, which promoted the idea of predestination. He also produced a translation of Melchior Adam's book *The Life and Death of Dr Martin Luther* (1641), and *Of the Article of our Creed: Christ Descended to Hades* (1642), arguing that Christ's soul did not descend into Hell.¹⁰¹ In 1637 he also published a Latin text book, *Grammatices Latinae*, a compendium wherein 'the most necessary Rules are expressed in English opposite to the Latine, that one may facilitate and give light to the other'.¹⁰² Hayne died on 27 July 1645, still living in Christ Church parish. He left bequests to pay for the maintenance of a schoolmaster in his home town of Thrussington and also for the maintenance of two

⁹⁸ *ACAD*, HLMS646S.

⁹⁹ C.R., vol. 1 f.428; Allan, *Exhibitioners* p. 173.

¹⁰⁰ C.M.B., vol 3, f. 131.

¹⁰¹ W. R. Meyer, 'Hayne, Thomas (1581/2–1645), schoolmaster and author', *ODNB* [accessed 21 August 2017].

¹⁰² Thomas Hayne, *Grammatices Latinae Compendium* (London, 1637).

scholars at Lincoln College, Oxford, but nothing to either Christ's Hospital or the Merchant Taylors' School.¹⁰³

It is difficult to discern how schoolmasters were selected at Christ's as there is little discussion of this in the court minute books apart from one instance in 1630, although this may not be typical. The post of grammar school master became vacant in 1630 following the resignation of Thomas Hayne. There were two candidates for the post – John Vicars, the current usher of the grammar school and Thomas Walters, Master of Arts of Magdalen College Oxford. The court asked that both candidates be tested by being asked to 'read unto or examine in their presence some of the best scholars under Mr. Hayne in those Greeke and Latine Authors wherein they learne, that (perceiving his abilitie therein) they might be able to testifie their knowledge in his behalf'. John Vicars refused to submit to this process saying that 'this tryall was without example', and that if the governors were not satisfied with his long service as usher, the testimony of his friends and his own petition for the post then 'hee would not begin any such President [precedent]'. Walters did submit to the examination 'notwithstanding they had many reall proofes in himself of his sufficiency, beside the testimony of most of the known shoolmasters in the Scholes in and about this city'.¹⁰⁴ Walters was thereby appointed to the position.

John Vicars, the unsuccessful candidate, deserves mention here; he also has an entry in the *ODNB*.¹⁰⁵ Vicars was a foundling left at the grammar school door aged one year and was admitted on 27 March 1589.¹⁰⁶ He was named John Grammor and put to nurse with Agnes Vicars, subsequently taking her surname. On discharge from the hospital in 1604 he was apprenticed to Esau Bewers, a clerk of Northolt in Middlesex, for six years. He also attended Queen's College, Oxford,¹⁰⁷ although the dates are unknown and he did not graduate, owing to his lack of money: 'Being there to studie in the said Universitie and at which time I had not one penny in this world of my owne to keepe my selfe.'¹⁰⁸ In his dedicatory epistle to his 1617 translation of Francis Herring's *Mischeefes mysterie*, he describes himself as 'having been (oh too

¹⁰³ Meyer, *Hayne*.

¹⁰⁴ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 70.

¹⁰⁵ Julia Gasper, 'Vicars, John (1580–1652), chronicler and poet', *ODNB* [accessed 8 December 2020]. This is the source for the following narrative.

¹⁰⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 213

¹⁰⁷ 'Vachell-Vyner', in *Alumni*, ed. by Foster, pp. 1533-1549.

¹⁰⁸ TNA: PROB 11/221/135.

too soone) wained from the breasts of my sacred Mother the most famous Uniuersity of Oxford'.¹⁰⁹ It is not known when he returned to Christ's Hospital as usher of the grammar school but he remained there until old age. In his will dated 16 March 1652, he describes himself as 'John Vicars of Christ's Hospitall London Schoole Master though sicke and weake in body yet in perfect minde and memory'.¹¹⁰ He married in 1616, after asking the court's permission and requesting that he might continue living in his hospital house. The court granted this 'considering his industrious teaching of the children of this house' and 'for his better incouragment to persist diligently'.¹¹¹ In 1638 the governors increased his salary by £5 per annum for his 'greate care and paines' as catechiser.¹¹²

Vicars was a devout and active Presbyterian and noted author of many Presbyterian tracts. The vehemence of some of his critics gives an indication as to the standing of a proselytiser of Presbyterianism. One such critic said of his 1645 *The Picture of Independency Lively, yet Lovingly, Deliniated* that 'he seem to fume and rave in our face'.¹¹³ Henry Foulis, a one-time Presbyterian who as a schoolboy 'was too much sway'd by Presbytery, and delighting in the Stories of our Times, had none to peruse, but May, Vicars, Ricraft, and such', described him as 'the furious John Vicars. One that hated all people that loved obedience, as the Devil doth Holy Water: and could out-scold the boldest face at Billings-gate'.¹¹⁴

Vicars published several original works, as well as his translations which included a translation of Francis Herring's *Mischiefes mysterie, or, Treasons master-peece, the powder plot* in 1617; a translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* in 1632; and four civil war chronicles *Jehovah-Jireh, or, God in the Mount* (parts 1 and 2, 1644), *Gods Arke over-Topping the Waves* (1646), and *The Burning-Bush not Consumed* (1646). These are considered important sources for historians of the civil war as they are based on eyewitness accounts of some of the battles, for example his account of the battle of

¹⁰⁹ F.D. Herring, *Mischiefes mysterie: or, Treasons master-peece, the Powder-plot Inuented by hellish malice*, ed. and trans. by John Vicars (London, 1617) p. 3.

¹¹⁰ TNA: PROB 11/221/135.

¹¹¹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 99.

¹¹² TNA: PROB 11/221/135.

¹¹³ Benjamin Hanbury, *Historical Memorials Relating to the Independents or Congregationalists From Their Rise to the Restoration of the Monarchy* (London, 1844), p. 32.

¹¹⁴ H. Foulis, *The history of the wicked plots and conspiracies of our pretended saints representing the beginning, constitution, and designs of the Jesuite* (London, 1662), p. 179.

Edgehill is based on the testimony of one of the participants, Captain Nathaniel Fiennes. His Presbyterianism is reflected in his portrayal of the war stressing the heroic nature of the parliamentary forces and the divine nature of their campaign.¹¹⁵ He published *England's Worthies* in 1647, in which he eulogised Cromwell and other parliamentary military commanders.¹¹⁶

His translation of Herring's *Mischiefs mysterie* is dedicated to Sir John Leman, Lord Mayor of London, Sir William Craven, President of Christ's Hospital, Richard Heath, Treasurer, and the Governors of the hospital. In the preface he goes to great length to express his gratitude to the hospital: 'I say (as to Gods glory, your endless credit, and my no lesse comfort, I do most thankfully acknowledge, and ingeneously confesse) having suckt from the brests of your Charity... even from mine infancy, the sweet milke of comfortable education and pious institution, must therby iustly also confesse that whatsoeuer is mine is most properly yours, as being derived from the ouer-flowing streames and radiant Sunbeames of your bounty and benignity to mee exhibited.'¹¹⁷ Vicars also wrote poetry and a number of his verses are included at the end of this translation, including one dedicated to Henry Iay, alderman and governor of the hospital, which is another expression of gratitude for the munificence of Christ's Hospital. A snippet reads:

Whereas I now doe a poore office beare,
Therefore I say, I owe vnto you more,
And am obliged in so large a score,
As my poore Talent neuer will suffice
To pay the debt, or ere to equalize
The merit, of your manifold desart.¹¹⁸

As Julia Gasper notes, Vicar's poetry often commented on the politics of the day, for example the public celebration when the Spanish match for Prince Charles failed.¹¹⁹

Although Vicars does not talk specifically about his experience as a child of the foundation, the gratitude he expresses indicates a positive experience. Vicars is unique in that he was less than a year old when he was abandoned in the grounds of

¹¹⁵ Gasper, *Vicars*.

¹¹⁶ John Vicars, *England's Worthies. Under Whom all the Civil and Bloody Warres since Anno 1642, to Anno 1647, are related* (London, 1647).

¹¹⁷ Herring, *Mischiefes*, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ Herring, *Mischiefes*, pp. 53-4.

¹¹⁹ Gasper, *Vicars*.

the hospital and seventy-two years old when he died in the hospital in 1652. He experienced every aspect of life from being sent to nurse (a presumably positive experience as he took the name of his nurse for his own), to teaching in the grammar school, although never getting the position of master that he wanted. He married and raised three children there and apart from a few years of apprenticeship and university he lived his whole life within the confines of the hospital, even requesting that after his death he be buried ‘in Christes hospital cloyster neare unto the Grammer schoole dore, there where my ffather and mother forsooke me.’¹²⁰ Yet there is a contradiction in that although he was not a wealthy man, it might be expected that he would leave more to Christ’s Hospital than he did. He left ten shillings to his son, a small amount as he had ‘allready bestowed a very large and liberall portion of my estate... for his education and instruction... especially at the University of Oxford’. His daughters received £20 each, his grandchildren 20s. each, the poor of Witney near Oxford 20s., the poor of Christ Church 10s. and his wife the residue of his estate, excluding his books. These were given to various friends apart from two dictionaries which were the only legacy to Christ’s Hospital, and these were ‘for the sole and Proper use of the chieftest grammer scholler of Christes hospital within the said house, who is to be trained by and fitted for the University’, the dictionaries then to be used by the ‘succeeding best schollar’. He also specified that a special place be found within the hospital for his dictionaries.¹²¹ Miu Sugahara points out that most grammar schools of the period did not hold many dictionaries as the cost of purchase was as much as 15s. per book so this may be a more generous gift than it appears, and it was also not uncommon for pupils to have controlled access to books regulated by the schoolmaster.¹²² This bequest undoubtedly reflects Vicars’ own unfulfilled academic dreams, yet, even though the value of his estate was less than £100 it might also be expected that he might have made some further contribution for the more general use of the hospital.

An attempt must be made here to try and ascertain the status of schooling at Christ’s Hospital in comparison to other schools of the period. Miu Sugahara does this by analysing entries in the *ODNB*. He takes the nineteen grammar schools that were

¹²⁰ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 71.

¹²¹ TNA: PROB 11/221/135.

¹²² Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 153.

based within a 10 mile radius of St. Paul's and pupils who attended any one of them between 1601 and 1700, and ranks them by the number of pupils attending each school who also have an entry in the *ODNB*. Of the nineteen schools, Westminster was by far the most successful based on the above criteria, but Christ's Hospital grammar school ranks in the second tier alongside the Merchant Taylors' School, St. Paul's School and Charterhouse.¹²³ Entries in the *ODNB* however do not distinguish between children of the hospital or fee-paying day boys.

Another measure of the status of the schools can be looked for in the salaries of the masters teaching in them, as salaries in different schools tended to be proportional to the prestige of the school, and possibly to the value of endowments available to them. At the top end of the scale, the master of St. Paul's was paid £35 per annum in the early sixteenth century.¹²⁴ John Robinson, the first grammar school master at Christ's Hospital, received less than half of this, receiving £15 in 1553.¹²⁵ Less prestigious schools paid £10 during the early sixteenth century but by the beginning of the seventeenth this had risen to £20,¹²⁶ although inflation may account for this. In 1663 William James, recently promoted from usher to master of the writing school, asked the court to increase his salary, which was £13 6s 8d plus a further £4 for teaching the girls to write, asking for parity with the previous writing master who received £33 6s 8d. This was granted but only on condition that James gave up the extramural teaching he had been doing at a school in Hackney.¹²⁷ The reading school master at this time, John Morgan, was paid £20 per annum. In addition to their salaries masters were also provided with accommodation. Teachers were also able to supplement their teaching by taking paying students from the city as discussed above. From this limited information on the salaries paid it seems that Christ's Hospital was somewhere in the middle of the scale of teaching salaries.

Another possible indicator of the status of the grammar school may be sought by examining the size of the schoolroom in relation to the number of pupils. Miu Sugahara has calculated that schoolroom accommodation in grammar schools of the time ranged from 13 to 20 square feet per pupil. Available maps and plans of the

¹²³ Ibid, p. 160.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. 105.

¹²⁵ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 36.

¹²⁶ Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 106.

¹²⁷ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 145v.

Christ's Hospital site provide scant information on the actual sizes of the buildings within the site, although one plan of the eastern part of the estate dated 1656 does show some dimensions. The grammar school is shown as having a width of 33 feet, although the length is not measured. However, if the scale of the building is correct on the plan, the length can be calculated at 66 feet. In 1581 there were 157 pupils in the grammar school at Christ's Hospital, comprising 42 house children and 115 town children,¹²⁸ which puts the Christ's Hospital grammar school at the lower end of the range, at 13.9 square feet per pupil, although the internal configuration of the building is unknown. Berkhamsted grammar school, in the mid sixteenth century, had a classroom measuring 70 feet x 27 feet for a maximum of 144 pupils, allowing 13.1 square feet per pupil; Tiverton grammar school, in the early seventeenth century, had 100 feet x 24 feet for 150 boys, giving 16 square feet per pupil. The total size of the Christ's Hospital grammar school was larger than average for the time, which Sugahara reports as being around 50 feet x 20 feet.¹²⁹

The girls' school is shown in a plan dated 1652-60 as being on the north side of the cloister next to the coal house. The same building on the 1656 plan is labelled as the 'pens roome', possibly meaning pins room, or the room in which the girls learnt to sew. The dimensions of the building are not shown on either plan, but using the known dimensions of the grammar school, and assuming the scale is correct, it is possible to calculate the size of the building as approximately 40 feet x 15 feet. This is considerably smaller than the grammar school but the ratio of boys to girls was approximately 3:2, and the size and locations of the other schools of Christ's Hospital are unknown, so it is not possible to comment on the suitability of the room for the number of girls using it.

Younger children were educated in the petty school from where they graduated into either the writing or grammar school. Ages of admission to the various schools are not recorded but Sugahara suggests that children generally began in a petty school between the ages of four and eight, and grammar school education began between the ages of eight and eleven.¹³⁰ Not much is known of the curriculum and as Rosemary O'Day cautions, Tudor petty schools cannot be equated with modern

¹²⁸ Pearce, *Annals*, pp. 65-66.

¹²⁹ Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 151.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 158.

primary schools, but it is likely that the pupils learned to read.¹³¹ The abilities of petty school teachers in this period are difficult to assess but Miu Sugahara gives a pessimistic view of the academic prowess of many, remarking that some were only just able to spell the words that they were teaching.¹³² The status of the teachers in the petty school was certainly not comparable with those of the grammar school, and this is exemplified by the disparity of salaries between them. In 1553 the master and usher of the grammar school were paid £15 and £10 respectively in comparison with the £2 13s 4d paid to the petty school masters.¹³³ The salary of the petty school masters was not sufficient to survive on and they must have had another source of income but it is not known how the masters supplemented their teaching salary. There is one example of a petty school teacher becoming usher of the grammar school, when in 1611 John Richard was appointed grammar school usher from the petty school, which presumably indicates some ability.¹³⁴ The standard of teaching was high enough in 1612, when following an inspection of the petty and writing schools the governors reported that ‘wee finde nothing amisse... the teachers thereof are very ready and willing to performe their duties’. They did however find that, following transfer to the writing school, the children ‘in the tyme of their learning to write they have quite lost their reading’. They ordered that in future children should proceed from the petty school to the grammar school ‘for their better perfection in Reading and that... at the houre of ffoure in the afternoon shall goe from there to the writing schoole to practise their writing there’.¹³⁵ There are no further references to the petty school after 1632 but a reading school was established. It is not clear if this was just a renaming of the petty school or a more elaborate restructuring of the school system.¹³⁶

A separate writing school appears to have existed since 1577 and expanded following Lady Mary Ramsey’s bequest in 1601 to ‘maintain in the said hospital a writing school, with a master and usher, to teach as well poor men’s children of the city of London as children of the said hospital to write and cast accounts’.¹³⁷ The

¹³¹ O’Day, *Education*, p. 26.

¹³² Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 105.

¹³³ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 36.

¹³⁴ C.M.B., vol 3, f. 132.

¹³⁵ C.M.B., vol. 4, f. 8.

¹³⁶ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 154.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 146-147.

writing school gave children a more vocational training, 'to the intent they might bee the sooner fitted too be put forth Apprenticed to several trades and proffessions'.¹³⁸

Although there are no written curricula for the school, Greek as well as Latin was taught in the grammar school, as has been seen previously in the process for the appointment of Thomas Walters as grammar school master. David Baker, a day pupil educated in the Grammar School, wrote that when he started his studies at Oxford University in 1590, 'He could write very true Latin, and no incongruity was to be found in it. But there was no elegancy at all in the style, he not having bin anything taught as to that... He could make a Latin verse hexameter, pentameter, and Sapphic... He could also read & understand Greeke in some reasonable manner & make a Greek verse.'¹³⁹

Schoolmasters were subject to the authority of the governors, who were responsible for oversight and discipline, as well as examining the progress of the children. There are several incidents of schoolmasters and ushers being disciplined for neglecting their teaching duties or being overly harsh in their dealings with the children. Robert Goodman, usher of the grammar school in 1607, was called before the court to answer complaints of his 'hard and cruell dealing in his correcting of the children of this house and other children of the citty', having previously been 'many times admonished of ye same'. The incident that had precipitated this appearance before the court was the beating of a boy named George Bright who he had 'stricken over the hands with the great end of the rod in such sort that both his hands were very much swollen therewith to the indangering of the losse of both his hands'. Goodman was dismissed from his post.¹⁴⁰ Few examples of this type of behaviour were recorded so it cannot be taken as indicative of the school environment more generally, but there are occasions of masters neglecting their duties. Peter Wamman, the writing school master, was admonished in 1607 for his negligence and given until the end of the year to improve his performance or face dismissal.¹⁴¹

Music was on the curriculum from the foundation of the hospital. Amongst the list of staff listed by Howes is 'A Scoole maister for Musicke', further described as 'A

¹³⁸ C.M.B., vol. 4, f. 8.

¹³⁹ *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker*, ed. by McCann and Connolly, p.39.

¹⁴⁰ C.M.B., vol 3, f. 103.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

Teacher of pricksonge whose yerely fee was £2 13s 4d', which is the same amount as the petty school masters. John Howes advocated much more extensive musical training, saying that the children should be taught 'to play vppon all sorts of instruments, as to sounde the trumpet, the cornett, the recorder or flute, to playe vppon shagbotts, shalmes, and all other instruments that are to be plaied vppon, ether with winde or finger'.¹⁴² A number of children from the music school went on to apprenticeships with masters described as either 'minstrel' or 'musician'.

During the early years of the foundation it is unclear how music was taught and whether all of the children experienced music lessons. In 1606 William Meacocke 'one of the singing men in Christ Church', was granted an annual stipend of 40 shillings to teach music in place of the late Robart Browne. Within a few months Meacocke had moved to the choir of St. Paul's, and in June 1607 John Farrant, clerk of Great St. Bartholomew's, petitioned for the position, to which he was appointed.¹⁴³ In 1609 Robert Dowe, the wealthy merchant and philanthropist,¹⁴⁴ entered into an indenture with the hospital to fund a music school. John Farrant was the master in post at the time at a salary of £4 per annum, which Dowe considered too low to be sufficient incentive for the music master to do his best work with the children. 'To the intent to encourage skilful teachers to do their best endeavour in instructing in the Heavenly Science of Music', he gave an additional £12 per annum, bringing the salary to £16 in the hope that 'God will put [it] in the heart of some good man' to make up the salary to £20. Dowe's predilection for imposing conditions on the recipients of his largesse, as discussed above, is reflected in his endowment of the music school, and the terms of the indenture were detailed and elaborate. Christ's Hospital would provide one master 'skilful in Music, being a Bachelor or Widower without children, for avoiding of charge to the hospital, and not being any vicar, petty canon, nor clerk or sexton of any church, nor holding any other temporal office'. He was to teach ten or twelve children, giving them 'knowledge of pricksong' and teaching them 'to write and make them able to sing in the Quier of Christ Church.' The master was to have his pick of students from any of the schools within the hospital apart from the grammar school, from which

¹⁴² Howes, '2nd manuscript', in *Tudor Economic Documents*, ed. by Tawney and Power, p. 434.

¹⁴³ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 136.

¹⁴⁴ Archer, *Dowe*.

permission was to be obtained. If the children of the hospital attended funerals only half of the music school children could attend ‘unless it be a special or double burial’. The music master was responsible for teaching the children of his school the catechism, and the children of the school were to be lodged together in ‘the high ward’, with the master having his own accommodation with a small garden near the counting house. Dowe also specified that every year 6s. 8d. should be spent on ‘twelve pair of gloves for the poor Singing Children of sixpence a pair’, the master having a pair costing eight pence. The children were to be presented to the president and governors twice a year for them to ‘see and hear how far they have profited’.¹⁴⁵ If any of Dowe’s stipulations were not met then the whole endowment was to be transferred to the Merchant Taylors’ Company for use in its almshouses, another of his charitable interests.¹⁴⁶ Christ’s Hospital kept the endowment so presumably the conditions were adhered to.

A further donation by Dowe in 1611 increased the master’s salary to £20 per annum, providing the master also taught three or four of the twelve children in the music school ‘to play upon an instrument, as upon the Virginalls or Violl but especially upon the Virginalls, thereby to adorne their voice and make them worthy members both for the Church and the Commonweale’.¹⁴⁷ Dowe also purchased two virginals and a bass viol and gave £72 to maintain them, a sum that the governors deemed insufficient and they asked him to increase the amount to £80, which was agreed. The music master composed the music for the hymn sung by the children at the Spital sermons; the words were written by the grammar school master.¹⁴⁸

John Farrant seemed to hold a privileged position in the eyes of the governors. In 1613 a complaint was made about him by the vicar and curate of Christchurch parish of his ‘ill caryage and behavior’ and ‘in his neyglecte of his dutie in not singing in the church as he ought to do’. Farrant admitted the complaints but asked the court to ‘be favourable unto him’. They agreed he could continue in his place of teaching the children the ‘arte of musicke upon his honest and good behaviour and the pleasur of the governors’.¹⁴⁹ Three years later in 1615 he was arrested for debt and taken to the

¹⁴⁵ Pearce, *Annals*, pp. 137-8.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.; Archer, *Dowe*.

¹⁴⁷ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 138.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 151.

compter in Wood Street from where he sent a message to the governors asking to resign from his position ‘in regard hee is very hard of hearing and his sight doth decay and his whole body is so weake and feeble as he is not able to performe the same’.¹⁵⁰ He remained music master however until 1617, at which time he petitioned the court ‘that he might leave the place in regard of his many infirmities... granting him during his life in regard of his former paines taken eleven pounds and forty shillings for provision of wood and coles all with being thirteen pounds to be paid by six shillings weekly And likewise for his lodging that he shall have a little roome joyning to the kitchin, and the kitchin itself to dress his meate during his life’.¹⁵¹

Thomas Ravenscroft was appointed music master following John Farrant’s retirement. He remained in this position until 1622 at a salary of £10, half that enjoyed by Farrant and seemingly in violation of Dowe’s endowment which specified the salary of the music master.¹⁵² Possibly Dowe’s death in 1612 may have made the governors less worried about losing the endowment to the Merchant Taylors, and the pension they were paying to Farrant may have limited the amount available for Ravenscroft. Ravenscroft was a music theorist and composer of some note. As a child, he was a chorister at St. Paul’s and graduated from Cambridge with a Mus.B. in 1605, aged 14.¹⁵³ Prior to taking up the post at Christ’s Hospital in January 1618, Ravenscroft had published two collections of rounds and catches, *Pammelia* and *Deutromelia*, both in 1609, *Pammelia* being the earliest printed collection of this sort. In 1614 he published *A Briefe Discourse of the true (but Neglected) Use of Charact’ring the Degrees*.¹⁵⁴

Little is known of the next music master, Thomas Peirce, apart from a complaint by the retired John Farrant that he did not ‘holly and soley apply himselfe in the instructing of the children’, and that he ‘hath another place in the Kings Chappell’.¹⁵⁵ Farrant petitioned to be reinstated but a compromise was reached, whereby he and Peirce shared the position until Lady Day 1625 to ensure that the children were

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, f. 84.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, f. 91.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ David Mateer, ‘Ravenscroft, Thomas (b. 1591/2) music theorist and composer’, *ODNB* [accessed 29 Aug 2017].

¹⁵⁴ Linda Phyllis Austern, ‘Thomas Ravenscroft: Musical Chronicler of an Elizabethan Theater Company’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38.2 (1985), p. 238.

¹⁵⁵ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 140.

‘perfect for the singing of the Psalme at Easter’.¹⁵⁶ Following this Farrant was once again music master, a position he held until his death in 1634.

Thomas Brewer was one of the children to benefit from Dowe’s bequest and he learned the viol at Christ’s Hospital, going on to become a celebrated performer. He was admitted from Christchurch parish on 9 December 1614 aged three and left on 26 June 1626 for an apprenticeship, although it is not known to what trade he was apprenticed.¹⁵⁷ He returned to the school as music master in 1638 but was dismissed in 1641 as he married without permission, in violation of the terms of Dowe’s bequest. He was a composer of both instrumental and vocal music, although he attracted more praise for the former, the latter being described in *The New Oxford History of Music* as avoiding ‘the problematic and profound’.¹⁵⁸

3.5 Children at nurse

While the majority of children lived in the hospital itself, and their lives and education can be to some extent charted, Christ’s Hospital did not just admit children into residential care. Many children were maintained at nurse, both in London and in the country. Entries were made in the children’s registers recording the date the child was sent to nurse, and sometimes the name and location of the nurse. Unfortunately, the hospital stopped recording children sent to nurse in the children’s registers after 1591/2. The reason for this is probably due to the change of treasurer in 1593 from William Norton to Robert Cogan. As will be seen in Chapter 6 it was not unusual for incoming treasurers to change the way in which information was recorded. Children were still being sent to nurse as evidenced by the nurse books, which unfortunately only now exist from 1659.¹⁵⁹ The nurse books primarily record payment to nurses and the number of children that a particular nurse has looked after. The level of detail on nurses recorded in the admission registers is variable. Some entries record multiple nurse placements, and include the name and location of the nurse, as well as the dates of placement and return to the hospital, and fees paid to the nurse. Others simply say, ‘sent to nurse’, with no further information noted. There is no

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ C.R., vol 1, f. 420.

¹⁵⁸ Julia Gasper, ‘Brewer, Thomas (1611–c.1660) musician and composer’, *ODNB* [accessed 29 August 2017].

¹⁵⁹ L.M.A., CLC/210/F/010/MS12860/001-008, *Nurse books 1659-1667*.

information available on the standard of care that the children received while at nurse, but as will be noted below, the children were returned to the hospital annually to be inspected, so there is evidence that the level of care was monitored. The costs of maintaining children at nurse are discussed in Chapter 6 so will not be commented on in this section.

A distinction must be drawn between wet and dry nurses as Christ's Hospital admitted, and sent to nurse, children of various ages, ranging from a few days to fourteen years old. The younger children clearly needed wet nursing, but the arrangements for older children were more akin to foster care arrangements. Entries in the children's registers do not make a distinction between wet and dry nurses but Valerie Fildes has cited evidence that parish nurses in the seventeenth century were paid more for taking infants below the age of one. As wet nurses were paid more than dry nurses, this suggests that children were weaned by the time they were a year old.¹⁶⁰ This wage differential can be seen in the admission records where fees are recorded with wet nurses typically receiving 12d per week, and nurses of older children 8d. Willyam Bradburie was admitted aged six on 5 January 1565/6 and sent to Thomas Kennett of Uxbridge at 8d per week, whilst Adam Savage was aged nine months when he was admitted on 15 February 1566/7 and sent to Jone Eddis of Old Sandford in Essex with a fee of 12d per week.¹⁶¹ The data presented here assumes that children admitted under the age of one year were sent to wet nurses, and those one and over to dry nurses. A caveat must also be included that, as discussed in Chapter 2, the ages on admission of the children, particularly those under one year, were often approximations made by the admitting officer, and as dates of birth or baptism are not recorded, exact ages cannot be known.

The hospital's need for wet nurses highlights the anomaly in its own admissions policy regarding the minimum admission age of four years. As discussed in Chapter 2, it seems that despite this policy, the hospital had always intended to care for younger children, John Howes reporting that: 'The Governors devised that the sucking children & such as for want of years were not able to learne shoulde be kepte

¹⁶⁰ Valerie Fildes, 'The Age of Weaning in Britain 1500-1800', *Journal of Biosocial Science*. 14 (1982), p. 236.

¹⁶¹ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 69, 76.

in the Countreye & allwaies at Easter brought home'.¹⁶² Infants who required wet nursing were, by necessity, placed with a nurse very quickly, usually on the day of admission. Orphant Arion, a foundling, was admitted aged three months on 5 February 1563/4 from St. Michael Cornhill parish and was sent to Jone Hill of Aldersgate Street on the same day. Thomas White, the son of Richard White, a labourer, was admitted at the age of two months from the parish of All Saints Lombard Street, and sent on the same day to Jone Peter in Southwark.¹⁶³

Wet nurses needed to be easily accessible and Valerie Fildes has found that the most likely location for a wet nursing parish was on a major road within a 50-mile radius of London.¹⁶⁴ Figure 3-1 below shows the location, where known, of non-familial nurses for children below the age of one year. Unsurprisingly, the most frequent location was that closest to the hospital and almost 40 per cent of these children were placed within the city or liberties. Parishes in Hertfordshire were the second most frequent location with almost 30 per cent of wet nursing placements, possibly because the hospital stood close to the start of the Great North Road, leading directly to Hertfordshire, which was only twelve miles from the city at its nearest point, with the furthest point approximately forty miles away. There was also a pre-existing network of wet nurses in Hertfordshire, as Fildes has shown.¹⁶⁵

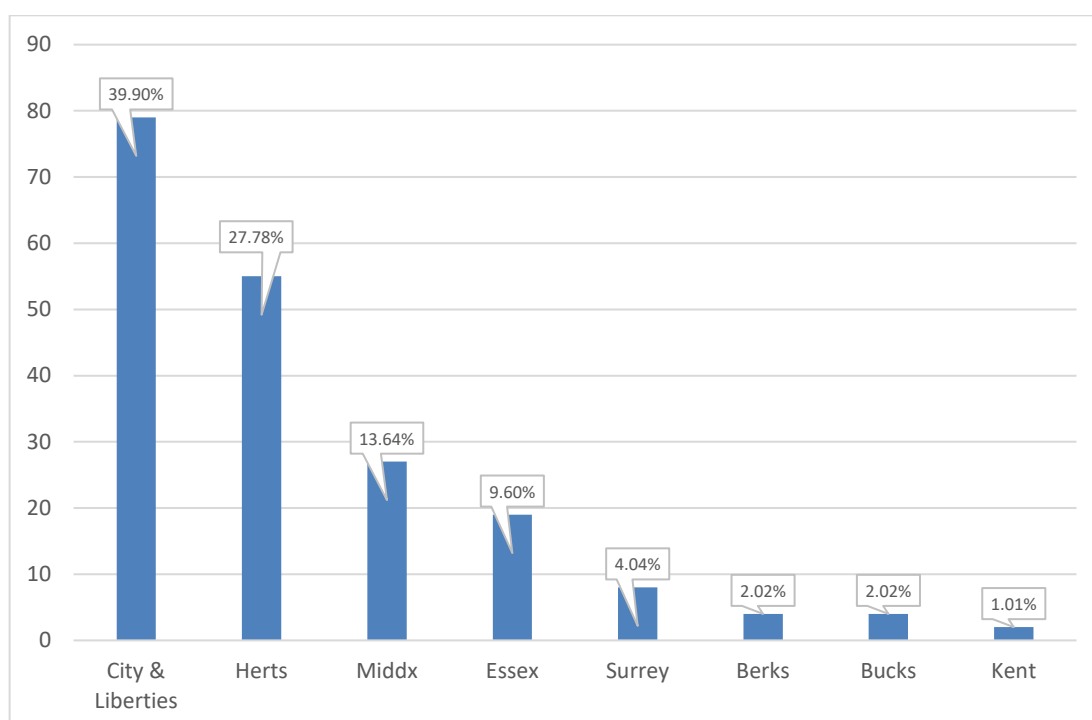
¹⁶² Howes, *Manuscript*, p.12.

¹⁶³ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 56, 58.

¹⁶⁴ Fildes, V. 'The English Wet Nurse and Her Role in Infant Care 1538-1800', *Medical History*, 32 (1988), p. 158.

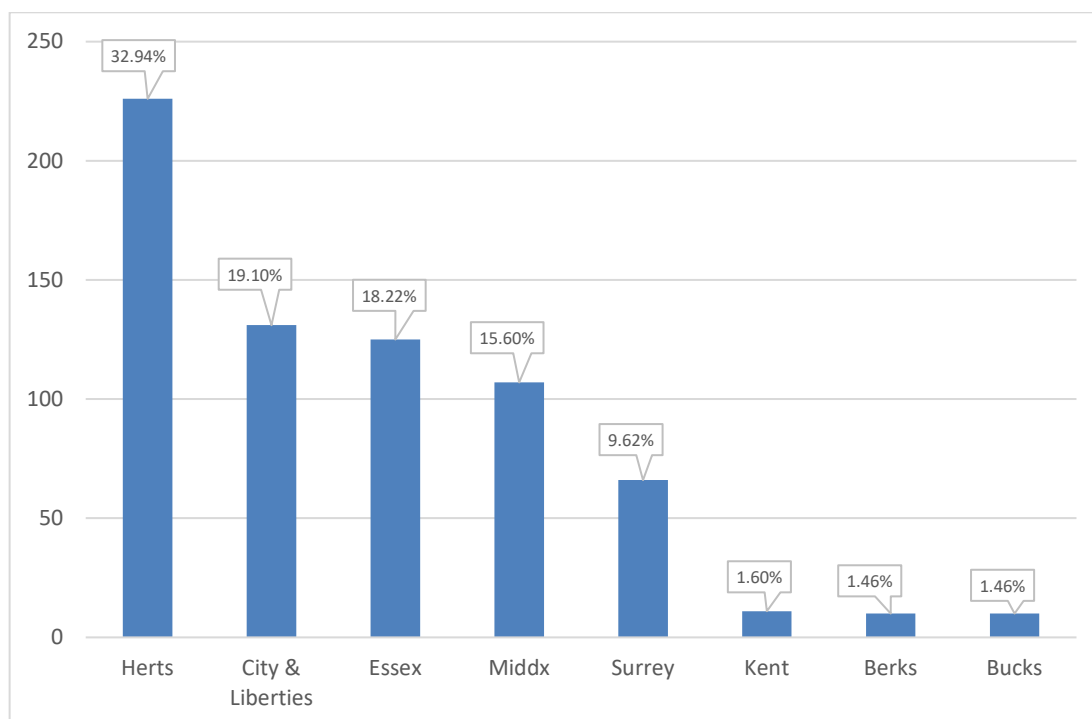
¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 144.

Figure 3-1: Location of non-familial nurses of children below the age of one 1563-91 (n=198)



Children aged one and over were sent further afield as shown in Figure 3-2. Almost 40 per cent of children were sent to Hertfordshire parishes and the proportion of children sent to nurses in the city fell to just under 20 per cent, with more older children sent to parishes in Essex, Middlesex and Surrey. This may reflect the greater robustness of older children to travel further, as well as the availability of nurses.

Figure 3-2: Location of non-familial nurses of children aged one and above 1563-91 (n=686)



Children were returned to the hospital to be inspected once a year, supposedly every Easter but in practice at different times of the year. They were then usually returned to a nurse, but not always the same one. Henrie Sydenham, for example, was admitted aged five on 26 September 1590 and sent to the nurse Katherine Wilson. He was returned to Christ's Hospital a year later on 25 September 1591 and then sent to Ellen Palmer of Wheathampstead in Hertfordshire. It is not clear if he returned to the hospital after this date as the only other information available about him is that he was discharged on 12 November 1597 and apprenticed to John Seaman, a carpenter.¹⁶⁶

Children were sometimes placed at nurse with their own parents, so the hospital was effectively paying a form of child benefit. Scibbell Malton, admitted aged six months on 11 July 1590, was put to nurse with her mother on the same day. The discharge record shows that she died at nurse on 18 September 1593, but the entry does not specify whether the nurse was still her mother, or whether she had been moved to

¹⁶⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 221.

another nurse. Children often experienced a mixture of placements with both familial and non-familial care givers.¹⁶⁷

The logistical challenge of maintaining children at nurse was considerable. Out of a total of 2,186 children admitted during the period 1563-91, some 1,689 (77.22 per cent) of them were recorded as being sent to nurse, some with their own family but most with non-familial nurses. Of the 1,689 children recorded as being sent to nurse in the period 1563-91, 1,431 (85 per cent) were placed with a non-familial nurse, as shown in figure 3-3 below. To add to the complexity, children had to be returned to the hospital annually and were then often reassigned to another nurse and sent out again. Andrew Sherehog, a foundling of eight weeks old from St Benet Sherehog parish, was admitted on 8 March 1571/2 and sent on the same day to Marion Norris. He was returned to the hospital on 29 March 1578 by William Woodward of Great Waltham in Essex and sent on the same day to Joan Loveday. He was next recorded being returned to the hospital five years later on 1 April 1583 and was sent again to Joan Loveday on 11 May 1583, returning to the hospital less than a month later on 6 June 1583. On 19 April 1584 he was placed with Joan Marsh of Standon in Hertfordshire, returning to the hospital on 11 April 1585 where he appears to have remained before being put to service for ten years with Joan Evans, a needle maker, of Billiter Lane on 9 July 1586.¹⁶⁸ This example illustrates the complexity of the arrangements in placing children at nurse. Sherehog had at least five different placements, and possibly more unrecorded ones as it is unlikely that he spent his first seven years with his wet nurse Marion Norris.

I have found very little information in the archives of Christ's Hospital to explain how the whole operation was administered, and how contact was made between the hospital and the individual nurses, although it is likely that the hospital had a network of inspectors outside of the hospital responsible for communicating with the hospital and dealing with local issues. John Bond of Standon in Hertfordshire is named as the nurse to whom at least sixty children were sent between 1563 and 1581, nine of them in 1573 alone, and it is possible that he was acting as an agent in the area and placing children with other nurses locally, in the same way that children were sometimes

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 219.

¹⁶⁸ Alan, *Admissions*, p. 103.

recorded as being apprenticed to the treasurer of the hospital, and then passed on to another master. This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

There are some instances of children being lost in the system. Elizabeth Baies was admitted on 3 August 1577 aged three months and sent on the same day to Thomas Winchester of Ware. The only other information in the admission entry is a note saying: ‘I know not whether this child be dead or alive the nurse Elizabeth Baker is [owed] 54 weeks for wages.’¹⁶⁹ The entry in the admissions register for Katherine Clerke, admitted 12 August 1581 aged one year, from St. Katherine Coleman Street parish shows that on 21 April 1582 she was sent to nurse with her mother Katherine Clerke of Clerkenwell, returning to the hospital on 19 April 1584 from John Payne. She was sent to the nurse William Ross on the same date, and the next entry is dated 1586 and says: ‘This child is out of this House we cannot tell where.’ She was located at some point and was returned to the hospital on 18 April ‘from William Ross’, and on 28 August 1592, aged about 12, she was ‘put covenant service to John Nokes and Agnes his wife for five years bound with five single pence’.¹⁷⁰

Figure 3-3: First placement of children sent to nurse

Sent to	No.	%
Nurse	1,431	84.77%
Mother	229	13.57%
Father	24	1.42%
Other	4	0.24%
Total	1,688	100%

Of the children sent to nurse, 1,046 (61.97 per cent) were male, 623 (36.91 per cent) female, and 19 (1.13 per cent) of unknown gender. This is roughly in line with the gender split for all admissions during the same period, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Figure 3-4: Gender of children sent to nurse

	Sent to nurse		Total admissions	
Male	1,049	62.14%	1,415	64.73%
Female	624	36.97%	755	34.54%
Unknown	15	0.89%	16	0.73%
Total	1,688	100%	2,186	100%

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 143.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 165.

As would be expected, more younger children were sent to nurse than older. Two thirds (65.47 per cent) of children sent to nurse were aged four years or younger. One child aged seventeen and another aged twenty were recorded. The seventeen-year old was Timothy Kelnor, admitted in 1586 and described as ‘an innocent’.¹⁷¹ He was sent to ‘the Hospitaller of Highgate’, presumably the Hospital of St. Anthony, Highgate which was a former leper hospital. By this period, it was accepting patients other than lepers and was under the control of St. Bartholomew’s.¹⁷² Timothy Kelnor was recorded as dying at nurse in 1587 which presumably means that he died at St. Anthony’s. The twenty-year-old was Thomazine Partridge, admitted in 1573 with no indication as to why. It could of course be a mistake in the register, but it is likely that she too had an intellectual disability. The discharge entry is dated 3 February 1617, some forty-four years later, by which time she would have been sixty-four, and records that, ‘this woman died in ye maidens ward’.¹⁷³

Figure 3-5: Age on first placement with nurse, mother or father

Age	Nurse		Mother		Father		Other	
<1	352	24.60%	65	28.38%	4	16.67%	0	0.00%
1	175	12.23%	44	19.21%	3	12.50%	0	0.00%
2	132	9.22%	27	11.79%	2	8.33%	2	50.00%
3	146	10.20%	17	7.42%	1	4.17%	2	50.00%
4	132	9.22%	8	3.49%	2	8.33%	0	0.00%
5	111	7.76%	15	6.55%	4	16.67%	0	0.00%
6	136	9.50%	22	9.61%	3	12.50%	0	0.00%
7	88	6.15%	8	3.49%	1	4.17%	0	0.00%
8	69	4.82%	9	3.93%	1	4.17%	0	0.00%
9	33	2.31%	7	3.06%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
10	20	1.40%	3	1.31%	1	4.17%	0	0.00%
11	11	0.77%	1	0.44%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
12	6	0.42%	1	0.44%	1	4.17%	0	0.00%
13	1	0.07%	1	0.44%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
14	3	0.21%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
15	0	0.00%	1	0.44%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
16	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
17	1	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
18	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p. 204.

¹⁷² ‘Religious Houses: Hospitals’, in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 1*, ed. by James Swanson Cockburn, H P F King and K G T McDonnell (London, 1969), pp. 204-212.

¹⁷³ Allan, *Admissions* p. 119.

19	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
20	1	0.07%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Unknown	14	0.98%	1	0.44%	1	4.17%	0	0.00%

3.6 Conclusion

Although it is not possible to understand what life was like from the point of view of a child at Christ's Hospital, the available information shows that the standard of care was at the least acceptable according to contemporary standards: the children were clothed, kept clean, housed and educated. The age range of children being cared for was wide, ranging from a few days old to adolescence, and all requiring different types of care. In section 3.2 we saw that the children's diet was adequate, although not lavish. The standard of healthcare for the children will be discussed in Chapter 4. In section 3.4 we saw that the education provided was comparable to other schools of the period, and some boys did progress to one of the universities, which will be examined further in Chapter 5. Section 3.5 showed the complexity of the hospital's operation, with many younger children being maintained outside the main hospital, either with parents or external nurses, but still needing considerable oversight by the officers and governors of the hospital. As is shown in Chapters 2 and 6, the hospital was in many ways a victim of its own success and the number of children admitted put severe pressure on its resources. Despite this, there is no evidence of a reduction in the standards of care given to the children. The outcomes for the children of Christ's Hospital will be examined in Chapter 5, but the results of what admission to Christ's Hospital could mean in terms of training for a successful career are exemplified by John Vicars, discussed in section 3.4, who was admitted as John Grammor on 27 March 1589, so named because he was abandoned at the grammar school door aged twelve months. He was sent to nurse with Agnes Vicars, whose name he adopted, and educated at the hospital, spending time at Queen's College Oxford, although not graduating, and eventually returning to Christ's Hospital as usher of the grammar school.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Allan p. 213; Gasper, *Vicars*.

Appendix to chapter 3

Figure 3-6: Diets at Christ's Hospital 1678, The Quaker Workhouse Clerkenwell 1713, & the St. James Workhouse, Westminster¹⁷⁵

	Breakfast	Noon	Evening
Christ's Hospital Sunday	2 ½ oz bread & 'a supp of drink'	Boiled beef & porridge, 5 oz bread	Roast mutton, 5 oz bread
Clerkenwell Sunday	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'	Big, each 8 oz, small, each 6 oz roast meat, 4 oz bread & 'beer sufficient'	4 oz. bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'
St. James Sunday	5 oz bread, 1 pint of beer	10 oz boiled beef, 5 oz bread, 1 pint of beer	5 oz bread, 2 oz cheese
Christ's Hospital Monday	2 ½ oz bread & 'a supp of drink'	Water gruel with currants, 5 oz bread	Cheese, 5 oz bread
Clerkenwell Monday	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'	1 pint of milk, well thickened with bread	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'
St. James Monday	2 ½ oz bread, 1 pint beef broth	1 pint of pease pudding	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, ½ pint beer
Christ's Hospital Tuesday	2 ½ oz bread & 'a supp of drink'	Boiled beef, 5 oz bread	Cheese 5 oz bread
Clerkenwell Tuesday	4 oz. bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'	Big, each 6 oz of meat; small, 4 oz meat, 1 pint of broth, 4 oz of bread & 'beer sufficient'	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'
St. James Tuesday	1 pint of milk porridge, 2 ½ oz bread.	10 oz boiled beef, 5 oz bread, 1 pint of beer	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, ½ pint beer
Christ's Hospital Wednesday	2 ½ oz bread & 'a supp of drink'	Milk porridge, bread & butter	Pudding pie without bread
Clerkenwell Wednesday	1 pint of broth well thickened with bread	1 pint of furmenty or rice milk with bread & 'beer sufficient'	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'
St. James Wednesday	2 ½ oz bread, 1 pint beef broth	1 pint of rice milk	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, ½ pint beer

¹⁷⁵ Pearce, *Annals* p. 176; Hitchcock, *Richard Hutton*, pp. 96-101; Hitchcock, *The English Workhouse*, pp. 171-4.

Christ's Hospital Thursday	2 ½ oz bread & 'a supp of drink'	Boiled beef, 5 oz bread	Cheese, 5 oz bread
Clerkenwell Thursday	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter, 'beer sufficient.'	Big, 6 oz meat & 1 pint broth; Small, 4 oz meat & 1 pint broth, 4 oz bread, 'beer sufficient'	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz. butter & 'beer sufficient'
St. James Thursday	1 pint of milk porridge, 2 ½ oz bread	10 oz boiled beef, 5 oz bread, 1 pint of beer	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, ½ pint beer
Christ's Hospital Friday	2 ½ oz bread & 'a supp of drink'	Milk porridge, bread & butter	Pudding pie without bread
Clerkenwell Friday	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'	Big, 1 lb of pudding; Small, 12 oz & 'beer sufficient'	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'
St. James Friday	2 ½ oz bread, 1 pint beef broth	1 pint frumenty	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, ½ pint beer
Christ's Hospital Saturday	2 ½ oz bread & 'a supp of drink'	Milk porridge, bread & butter	5 oz bread, cheese
Clerkenwell Saturday	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'	1 pint of milk pottage thickened with bread, or 1 pint of peas pottage with bread, butter & 'beer sufficient'	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, or 1 oz butter & 'beer sufficient'
St. James Saturday	1 pint of milk porridge, 2 ½ oz bread.	1 lb plum pudding, 1 pint of beer	4 oz bread, 1½ oz cheese, ½ pint beer

Chapter 4 Health and mortality

4.1 Introduction

John Howes tells us that when the hospital was first opened in 1553, the quality of care was such that a number of the children, ‘being taken from the dunghill when they came to swete and cleane keping & to a pure dyett dyed downe righte’, as did a number of the first patients in St. Thomas’s,¹ indicating at least that the quality of care provided was dramatically different from the lives they had previously been leading. This chapter will focus on the attitudes to the ongoing health of the children and the way in which the medical needs of the children were provided for by the hospital. The records of the hospital, however, are somewhat sparse in this regard and do not yield much information about the actual care provided to the children. Whilst it is known that there was a sick ward, for example, there is scant reference to the operation of the ward or the nature of the illnesses that would necessitate admission to it. Similarly, there is little information on the staff of the sick ward and their duties and responsibilities. The names of some of the surgeons and physicians are known, but not the nature of their practice at the hospital. In order to gain a picture of the health landscape of the hospital it has therefore been necessary to rely on secondary, more general, sources of information. Section 4.4 will focus on mortality at the hospital, and the effects of institutional care on the survival chances of the children but, again, there are difficulties in gaining a full picture from the data available in the hospital records. Cause of death was very rarely recorded, except in the case of accidental death, so it is difficult to gain a sense of the sorts of illnesses that the children suffered from. The difficulties in working with the data from the hospital records will be discussed more fully in Section 4.4 below.

4.2 Children’s health and illness

The debate over the place of children in early modern society has evolved since Philippe Ariès’ assertion that parents in pre-industrial society, when mortality rates were so high, could not allow themselves to become too attached to their children.²

¹ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 39.

² Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of childhood: a social history of family life*, trans. by Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

Hannah Newton has demonstrated that child health was a distinct and separate area of concern for early modern society, and that ‘children’s physic’ was a concept that existed in early modern medicine, and was used to inform medical practice.³ Newton cites the number of published medical texts specifically focused on the treatment of children during the late sixteenth century. Whilst acknowledging the impossibility of knowing how widely the information in these books was used, she points to the simple fact that the number of editions published of many of these texts is indicative that they were widely read and used. Thomas Phaer’s *The Booke of Children*, first published in 1544, was reprinted numerous times and Walter Harris’s *Acute Diseases of Infants* went through six editions.⁴

Sixteenth-century medical views were based on the ideas of Hippocrates and Galen. These stated that illness was a result of a corruption, imbalance or the blockage of bodily humours, or fluids: blood; choler; phlegm; and melancholy. Each of these held a combination of certain qualities: heat; cold; moisture; and dryness. Blood was warm and moist, choler warm and dry, phlegm cold and moist, and melancholy cold and dry. The balance of humours was defined by age: infancy or childhood through to about fourteen years; youth, from fifteen or so through to about thirty; adulthood or ripe age, from 30 to mid-50s; and decrepit or old age, from 55 to death. Each age had a distinct humoral balance, and the belief was that children’s bodies and brains contained large quantities of the moist and warm humour, blood, making them weaker than adults and susceptible to a different set of diseases.⁵ The seventeenth century saw the emergence of new medical theories based on the ideas of the Flemish physician Jan Baptista van Helmont, who argued that rather than being the result of humoral imbalance, disease was a consequence of the malfunctioning of chemical processes within the body.⁶

As well as differences in children’s and adults’ bodily humours there was also thought to be a difference defined by gender, males generally being warmer than females having been ‘generated out of a hotter seed’. This humoral gender disparity

³ Hannah Newton, ‘Children’s Physic: Medical Perceptions and Treatment of Sick Children in Early Modern England, 1580-1720’, *Social History of Medicine*, 23.3 (2010), p. 456.

⁴ Ibid, p.457.

⁵ Hannah Newton, *The sick child in early modern England, 1580-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). p. 34

⁶ Ibid, p. 32.

meant that boys and girls were susceptible to different illnesses, for example smallpox was thought to be caused by hot humours, making boys more susceptible to the condition.⁷

A 1664 book by the physician J.S. lists 38 illnesses from which children were likely to suffer, ranging from smallpox, measles, consumption, and epilepsy, to constipation, diarrhoea, incontinence and bladder stones.⁸ Hannah Newton has analysed the contents of 37 recipe books referring to diseases of children and found that the most commonly cited conditions were: worms; convulsions; falling sickness/epilepsy; rickets; colic; smallpox/measles; fever; sore gums/teething; cough; and thrush. The most commonly-cited of all was worms, which was mentioned in 57 per cent of all the texts. The range of illnesses to which children were believed to be susceptible varied according to age. New-borns were prone to ‘creeping ulcers’, vomiting, coughs, inflammation of the navel and ear infections, while infants were susceptible to fevers, convulsions and teething problems, and older children tonsillitis and swellings of the neck. Weight and strength were also risk factors in the types of disease children were likely to contract. Overweight infants were believed to be at most risk of scrofula, thrush and whooping cough, and underweight children were susceptible to fevers. Weak children were believed to be at higher risk of rickets, syphilis and coughs, and strong children fevers, smallpox and vomiting.⁹ The type of child admitted to Christ’s Hospital is more likely to have fallen into the weak and underweight category than the overweight and strong.

Venereal disease was a major problem during this period, Kevin Siena going so far as to say that ‘the pox represented one of the single most pressing health problems in early modern London’.¹⁰ William Clowes, holding the post of surgeon at both St. Bartholomew’s and Christ’s, wrote a treatise in 1579 on the treatment of syphilis, *A*

⁷ Ibid, p. 39.

⁸ J.S. Physician, *Paidon nosemata: or Childrens diseases both outward and inward. From the time of their birth to fourteen years of age. With their natures, causes, signs, presages and cures.* (London, 1664).

⁹ Newton, *Sick Child*, pp. 46-7.

¹⁰ Kevin Patrick Siena, *Venereal disease, hospitals and the urban poor: London's 'foul wards' 1600-1800* (Rochester (NY): Rochester University Press, 2004), p. 10.

Short and Profitable Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called (Morbus Gallicus), describing it as ‘very loathsome, odious, troublesome and dangerous’.¹¹

Johannes Fabricius has noted the paucity of sources describing syphilis in children although he does quote two. One of these was William Clowes, who in his 1596 book *A Briefe and Necessary Treatise, Touching the Cure of the Disease Now Usually Called Lues Venerea, by Uncions and Other Approoued Waies of Curing*, describes the treatment of a twelve-year-old girl and also talks of the ways in which children could be infected through the ingestion of breast milk, particularly if the children were put out to nurse. He describes three children from London parishes who were put to nurse, one in the country and two in London, ‘but whithin lesse than halfe a yeere, they were all three brought home to their parents and freends, greeuously infected with this great and odious disease, by their wicked and filthy nurses’. The second example that Fabricius identifies is the Paracelsian practitioner John Hester, who wrote a 1594 treatise *The Pearles of Practise* on treating a four-year-old child ‘that was grieuoslie tormented with the French disease, having extreme payne in his bodie, and being full of sores’.¹² Margaret Pelling has identified two cases of whole families infected with syphilis at two lazar houses in Norwich, St. Benet’s and St. Stephen’s Gate, where the keepers were paid by the city for keeping the city’s sick poor, including a woman with four children, all with syphilis.¹³

The extent of the incidence of syphilis in London can be seen from the records of St. Bartholomew’s. Margaret Pelling has examined gratuities paid to surgeons for treating patients over a twelve-month period in 1547-8 and found that of 87 cases treated, over 25 per cent had the pox.¹⁴ Syphilitic patients were also treated at St. Thomas’s hospital and at the city’s lazar houses, which from 1549 were under the control and administration of St. Bartholomew’s, and were used by the hospital to house patients suffering from venereal diseases.¹⁵ Pelling also states that patients

¹¹ William Clowes, *A Short and Profitable Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called (Morbus Gallicus) by Uncions* (London, 1579).

¹² Johannes Fabricius, *Syphilis in Shakespeare’s England* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 1994), pp. 22-3.

¹³ Margaret Pelling, ‘Healing the Sick Poor: Social Policy and Disability in Norwich 1550-1640’, *Medical History* 29 (1985), pp. 128-9.

¹⁴ Margaret Pelling, ‘Appearance and reality: barber-surgeons, the body and disease’, in *London 1500-1700, the making of the metropolis*, ed. by Augustus L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), p. 97.

¹⁵ Siena, *Venereal Disease*, p.64.

with syphilis were also housed at Christ's Hospital,¹⁶ although I have not found any direct evidence of this, and it seems unlikely given that there is evidence that children from Christ's Hospital were transferred to the Lock Hospital or one of the other old lazar houses. Edmond Bannister was admitted on 3 February 1564/5 aged ten and immediately sent to the Lock.¹⁷ Dauith Odcraft was admitted from St. Sepulchre parish aged six months on 21 April 1583 and was transferred to the Lock in August the following year.¹⁸ Pernell Broker was admitted 15 August 1584 but died on 18 March 1586/7 with 'the hospitaller of Knightsbridge'.¹⁹ The entry for Susan Megeley, who was admitted aged three from St. Andrew Undershaft parish on 12 November 1575, records that in December 1578: 'This child being diseased was sent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and from thence by the Governors to Lock where she died.'²⁰ Transfers to the Lock do not necessarily mean that the children concerned were suffering from syphilis, but more likely that they had contracted a contagious illness, such as smallpox or measles, as the Lock also took patients with other infectious diseases.²¹ The swift transfer of Susan Megeley to the Lock indicates that she had a pre-existing illness on admission, and it is likely that many children were admitted with pre-existing conditions.

A full discussion on the state of medical practice in early modern London is outside the scope of this study, but a brief overview is germane here. In an age when illness or disability could have catastrophic economic consequences for a family, attention to health and demand for medical attention was high. Margaret Pelling has demonstrated that early modern citizens were extremely aware, and concerned with their physical health, going so far as to say that 'early modern people were obsessed with health, its fragility and the means of preserving it'.²² When the London hospitals were re-founded, in addition to the sick ward of Christ's Hospital, St. Bartholomew's was also involved in the care of children, being especially concerned

¹⁶ Pelling, *Appearance and Reality*, p. 98.

¹⁷ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 64.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 76.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 186.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 133.

²¹ Siena, *Venereal Disease*, p. 68.

²² Margaret Pelling, *The common lot: sickness, medical occupations and the urban poor in early modern England* (London: Longman, 1998), p.5.

with the treatment of scurvy and scald head, as well as accidents including dog bites and broken limbs.²³

By modern standards the provision of medical services in early modern London was disorganised and disunited and was not professionalised. The types of practitioner ranged from licensed physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, to a host of unlicensed practitioners. Pelling estimates that in late sixteenth century London there were approximately 500 practitioners comprising 50 licensed physicians, 100 members of the Barber-Surgeons Company, 100 apothecaries, and 250 unlicensed practitioners of one description or another (but excluding nurses and midwives). In one London parish the residents included a barber-surgeon, two unlicensed practitioners, a 'professor of physic and other curious arts', an immigrant practitioner, a poor man who 'claimed physic', and a woman termed a 'counterfeit physician and surgeon'.²⁴ Deborah Harkness has identified over 1,400 medical practitioners active between 1560 and 1610, although Harkness includes midwives and carers for the sick in hospitals in her calculation.²⁵ The sixteenth century however was significant for the development of medical practice, and the development of a tripartite division of skills within the medical world.²⁶ The London College of Physicians was established in 1518, modelled on Italian institutions of the period. The influence of the college was slow to develop, occupying as it did a position outside the traditional framework of the city companies, and it was not until the 1580s that it could be considered to contribute much to the advancement of medical knowledge and practice.²⁷ University medical education was also underdeveloped, particularly in comparison with Italian institutions. By the 1580s there was an increase in the number of candidates from Oxford and Cambridge for membership of the college. Pelling and Webster describe the typical university-educated physician as having spent seven years preparing for an M.A. degree and a further seven years obtaining medical qualifications, both at

²³ Pelling, *Child Health*, p. 137.

²⁴ Pelling, *The Common Lot*, pp. 240-1.

²⁵ Deborah E. Harkness, 'A View from the Streets: Women and Medical Work in Elizabethan London', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82.1 (2008), p. 58.

²⁶ Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, 'Medical Practitioners' in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 168.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

English universities and commonly with a period of study in one or more of the continental institutions.²⁸

By contrast to the London College of Physicians, the Barber-Surgeons' Company was much more entrenched in the life of the city. The relatively small Surgeons' Company amalgamated with the Barbers' Company in 1520 to form the 'Mystery and Commonality of Barbers and Surgeons of London'.²⁹ As with the physicians, the barber-surgeons moved towards a degree of professionalisation during the sixteenth century, introducing stricter entry requirements. Applicants were required to have served a satisfactory apprenticeship and also submit to an examination in which they had to satisfy the examiners that they were 'well exercised in the curing of infirmities belonging to surgery of the parts of a man's body commonly called the anatomy'.³⁰ The abilities of members of the company varied from the basic practitioner to the skilled and erudite, but Pelling and Webster conclude that the Barber-Surgeons' Company elite made a bigger contribution to the advancement of medical practice in London during the sixteenth century than the London College of Physicians.³¹

The third group was the apothecaries, who numbered approximately 100 at the end of the sixteenth century and who Pelling and Webster describe as 'independently minded, wealthy, and numerous'.³² The apothecaries were a group within the Grocers' Company until 1618 when the Society of Apothecaries was founded. Within the apothecaries was a faction led by John Hester who were focused on the production and sale of chemically manufactured medicines. The apothecaries tried to solidify their position in the medical world by petitioning the College of Physicians for the sole right to compound and sell medicine in 1585.³³

Due to their university education physicians identified themselves as the 'head' of medicine, with surgeons and apothecaries being the 'hands of healing'.³⁴ It might be tempting to view the three separate branches of medicine as distinct entities with

²⁸ Ibid, p. 189.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 173.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 175.

³¹ Ibid, p. 177.

³² Ibid, p. 178.

³³ Ibid, p. 179.

³⁴ Christopher Lawrence, 'Medical Minds, Surgical Bodies: Corporeality and the Doctors,' in *Science Incarnate: Historical Embodiments of Natural Knowledge*, ed. by Christopher Lawrence and Steven Shapin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 159.

each operating within its own sphere, but this was not in fact the case and the distinctions between the three branches were blurred. In her examination of the writings of the Elizabethan surgeon William Clowes, Celeste Chamberland has highlighted the fluidity of medical identities in sixteenth century London, and in particular Clowes's efforts to change the perception of surgeons away from the traditional 'manual labour' view of surgery to a more learned and intellectual portrayal.³⁵ Whilst Clowes asserted that he respected the boundaries between physic and surgery he also professed that in certain circumstances, such as the need for immediate treatment for injured men on ships or battlefields, that the surgeon could adequately perform the duties usually ascribed to the physician.³⁶

The Annals of the College of Physicians detail prosecutions of non-members for practising medicine. These give an indication of the types of medicine being practised, and the types of people practising. The prosecutions encompass unlicensed men and women, as well as apothecaries and members of the Barber Surgeons Company who were practising physic, indicating that the reality was much less straightforward.³⁷ John Actour 'appeared on a charge of practising: he confessed that he had practised medicine but thought that he could do so as he was a surgeon'.³⁸ In 1594 a complaint was made by a Mrs. Bate that 'the old widow Austen' had undertaken to cure her husband who subsequently died. Austen admitted that she had practised medicine in London for many years and had 'given internal purgation potions, especially caresostin and laureola, to more than 100 men'. She was fined 40s and forbidden to practise.³⁹ Another woman, Mrs. Lander, was described as a 'some-time servant to Mr. Butler glover and practizer of physique'. She admitted administering mercury pills to Mr. Butler and that 'she fluxed allso one Renold Hollingsworth and purged him for which she receaved 6 li'. On 9 March 1594 Simon Forman confessed to having been practising for sixteen years, two of them in London, and that he diagnosed by astronomy. The court examined him on astrology and medicine and found his answers to be 'absurd & mirth provoking', and he was

³⁵ Celeste Chamberland, 'Between the Hall and the Market: William Clowes and Surgical Self-Fashioning in Elizabethan London', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 41.1 (2010), p. 87.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 88.

³⁷ Pelling, Margaret and Frances White, *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640 Database* (London, 2004), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/introduction> [accessed 17 March 2019].

³⁸ Ibid, 'Actour John'.

³⁹ Ibid, 'Austen'.

fined £5. Forman was summoned to appear a total of six times between 1594 and 1607, being imprisoned twice in 1595 and 1596. In 1596 his imprisonment was as a result of him treating a Mr Sotherton for a burning fever from which he subsequently died. At this hearing he was questioned by Dr. Smith, the Queen's physician and 'shown to be ignorant'.⁴⁰ These examples highlight the reality that healthcare in London during the sixteenth century was not effectively regulated and that there was a myriad of practitioners catering to the demand, dependent on the patient's ability to pay.

Deborah Harkness argues convincingly that looking at medicine in London solely through the records of the companies and the college distorts the true picture, and neglects the role of women in healthcare provision.⁴¹ Using parish and probate records, as well as lists of immigrants and hospital records, she argues that rather than being peripheral figures in the medical community of Elizabethan London, they were a prominent component of an organised system, hired by individuals, parishes and hospitals to provide medical services.⁴² The parish of St. Lawrence Pountney paid for the care of a boy named Robert Mathews between September 1591 and 1592. Amongst his carers was Goodwife Goodgame, who was paid 13s 4d for healing his head, and Goodwife Snoden who was paid £3 8s for nursing him for the period.⁴³ Patients in London hospitals received care from both male and female staff, the most obvious female practitioners being nurses. Twenty-five nurses were employed at Christ's Hospital at its foundation under the control of Agnes Sexton the matron.⁴⁴ At St. Bartholomew's there were eleven nurses under the supervision of a matron.⁴⁵

4.3 Medicine and nursing at Christ's Hospital

A list of staff at the foundation of Christ's Hospital includes two surgeons, Robert Balthrop and Henry Browne, who were paid £13 6s 8d, and £4 respectively.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Ibid, 'Forman, Simon'.

⁴¹ Deborah E. Harkness, 'A View from the Streets: Women and Medical Work in Elizabethan London', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82.1 (2008), p. 52.

⁴² Ibid, pp. 55-6.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 53.

⁴⁴ Howes, *Manuscript*, pp. 36-7.

⁴⁵ Harkness, *View*, p. 74.

⁴⁶ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 36

Balthrop was to become a distinguished surgeon, albeit one at the beginning of his career in 1552. He was the son of Richard Balthrop who was ‘midwife’ to Queen Jane, the mother of Edward VI. He served his apprenticeship with Nicholas Alcock, surgeon to Edward VI, and was admitted to the freedom of the Barber Surgeons in 1545, and to the livery in 1552. He was warden 1560-1 and 1564-5, and master in 1565 and 1573. In 1562 he was appointed sergeant-surgeon to Elizabeth I, a position he held until his death in 1591, and in 1570 he became an examiner in surgery for the company.⁴⁷ On his death he left various surgical books to his assistants and, to the Barber Surgeons’ Company, his own translation into English of two important surgical works by Tagault and Paré ‘for the love that I owe unto my brethren practising chirurgery and not understanding the Latin tongue and given them into the Hall for their daily use and reading both in Latin and English’.⁴⁸ The lower salary paid to Henry Browne in 1552 possibly indicates that he was not a full-time surgeon at Christ’s, or possibly Balthrop’s assistant. I have been unable to find any further information on Browne.

One of the best-known surgeons at Christ’s Hospital was William Clowes, who practised at the hospital from 1576, concurrently holding the position of surgeon at St. Bartholomew’s. Although Clowes is now regarded as one of the most eminent surgeons of the period, he was a controversial figure at the time. His admission to the Barber-Surgeons’ Company was by translation from another company rather than by apprenticeship to a member of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company, although he claimed to have studied surgery under the physician George Keble. Clowes’s early career was spent as a ship’s surgeon, first going to sea as surgeon in Warwick’s expedition to Le Havre in 1563, and from 1564-1570 serving as a naval surgeon.⁴⁹ Although Clowes’s relationship with the Barber-Surgeons’ Company was tempestuous — complaints against him in the company’s court included defrauding a patient, scoffing at the masters and a physical fight with one of the company’s leading figures, George Baker — in public he was concerned to improve the status and professionalism of surgery, albeit with a large degree of self-aggrandisement. Clowes published three surgical treatises between 1579 and 1602 which gave instruction to young surgeons

⁴⁷ Andrew Griffin, ‘Balthrop, Robert (1522–1591), surgeon’, *ODNB* [accessed 18 December 2020].

⁴⁸ Pelling and Webster, ‘Medical Practitioners’ in *Health, Medicine and Mortality*, ed. by Webster. p. 177.

⁴⁹ Murray, *Clowes*.

based on his own experience, and methods of improving surgical care, while at the same time berating those he saw as incompetent practitioners.⁵⁰ Clowes wrote in English rather than the more usual Latin, believing that the practice of surgery was too shrouded in mystery, and that higher professional standards would be encouraged by making surgical treatises more accessible. He earned the condemnation of some of his fellow practitioners who accused him of debasing his profession, ‘whereby every bad man and lewde woman is become a surgeon’. During his career Clowes was also surgeon to both Queen Elizabeth I and King James I. Clowes was successful enough in his surgical practice to purchase two houses in Fenchurch Street and an estate in West Ham to which he eventually retired, where he died, reputedly of the plague, in 1604.⁵¹

Another prominent surgeon who treated the children of Christ’s Hospital was John Woodall (1570-1643). Originally from Warwick, Woodall became free of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company in 1601. He was extremely active within the company, serving as anatomy steward from 1610-1612 and anatomy master from 1612. He was a member of the court of assistants from 1619, lower warden in 1626, middle warden in 1627, upper warden in 1628 and master in 1632. He was also a member of at least twenty committees and at various times auditor, elector and examiner for the company. In 1613 he was the first surgeon-general to be appointed by the East India Company, drawing up regulations for the company’s surgeons and compiling lists of instruments and equipment for the surgeons’ chests. In 1617 he expanded this to publish *The Surgions Mate, or, A Treatise ... of the Surgions Chest*, a textbook aimed at young surgeons, and in 1628 a further work on the treatment of gunshot wounds, *Viaticum, the Path-Way to the Surgeons Chest*. Woodall also published a treatise on the treatment of the plague, an illness he himself contracted twice.⁵² Woodall also claimed to have invented a treatment for plague, a ‘Cordiall Powder made of Gold’, the efficacy of which was attested to by certificates from the mayor and justices of Northampton, confirming that Woodall’s cure saved the lives of fifteen plague victims.⁵³

⁵⁰ Chamberland, *Between the Hall*, pp. 69-71.

⁵¹ Murray. *Clowes*.

⁵² John H. Appleby, ‘Woodall, John (1570–1643), surgeon’, *ODNB* [accessed 5 May. 2019].

⁵³ John H. Appleby, ‘New Light on John Woodall, Surgeon and Adventurer’, *Medical History*, 25 (1981), p. 259.

Woodall was a surgeon at St. Bartholomew's from 19 January 1616, and he remained in post until his death, practising at the hospital on Mondays and Thursdays. He was also surgeon at Charterhouse from 1614 to 1628. The period of time that he held a position at Christ's Hospital is unknown but he was certainly there in the early 1640s as evidenced by an entry in the East India Company's court book for 1642. Here he was called to account for some discrepancies in his accounting of the costs of equipment and ointments, for which the court asserted it was being charged twice, due to Woodall's re-using them. Woodall denied the charges 'But confessed hee made some use of them in Christ's Hospitall for the cureing of poore people there'. The court accepted his answer and 'did order that Mr Woodall should have the chests potts instruments & salves in the manner hee hath formerly received the same'.⁵⁴

William Clement is listed as physician at Christ's Hospital in William Munk's roll of fellows of the Royal College of Physicians.⁵⁵ The dates of his tenure at Christ's Hospital are unknown, but it is known that he studied medicine in Italy, gaining an M.D. at Padua which was later incorporated by Oxford University. He became a candidate for the College of Physicians in 1606, and a fellow on 5 June 1607. He was censor in 1612, 1622, 1628, 1630 and 1633.⁵⁶

In the seventeenth century Sir John Micklethwaite was physician to Christ's Hospital, but the precise dates are again unclear, although he was certainly there in 1651 when the treasurer's accounts record a payment of £10 to him for a half-yearly stipend.⁵⁷ Micklethwaite was born in Yorkshire in 1612, the son of Thomas Micklethwaite, a rector. He gained a B.A. from Queens' College Cambridge in 1631, and an M.A. in 1634. He subsequently went to Leiden in December 1637 to study medicine, gaining an M.D. at Padua in 1638, which was incorporated in Oxford 14 April 1648.⁵⁸ He practised medicine in London and became a prominent member of the College of Physicians, where he was Gulstonian lecturer in 1644, Censor 1647, 1649, 1651, 1656, 1658 and 1662-3. He was treasurer 1667-73 and president 1676-81. He was appointed assistant physician at St. Bartholomew's and physician in

⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 257-8.

⁵⁵ William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London; Compiled from the Annals of the College and from Other Authentic Sources*, vol. 1 (London 1860), p. 146.

⁵⁶ Pelling and White, 'Clement, William', in *Physicians database* [accessed 12 April 2019].

⁵⁷ T.A., vol. 7, 1651/2.

⁵⁸ William Birken, 'Micklethwaite, Sir John (bap. 1612, d. 1682), physician', *ODNB* [accessed 18 December 2020].

1653. He was knighted by Charles II to whom he was physician in ordinary. A Dr. Goodall, a contemporary in the college, described him as ‘a man of great eminency and reputation in his profession, especially amongst the nobility, and persons of the best quality in court and city’.⁵⁹

There is little evidence that Christ’s Hospital employed an apothecary on a full-time basis: the only references I have so far found are payments in the treasurers’ account books which appear to be the paying of bills rather than salaries, although it does appear that the hospital used the same apothecary for long periods of time. An entry in the 1640/1 accounts lists a payment to ‘James Rand Apothecary for a bill of physic for the children from the 21st of December 1640 to the 26th June 1640’.⁶⁰ A later list of debts owed by the hospital at 30 May 1653 states that ‘James Rand Apothecarie is owed £24’, and a further entry of ‘Debts which were in arrears in the last Accompt’ lists a payment of £22 to Rand.⁶¹ In 1674 Rand was part of a consortium of fourteen members of the Society of Apothecaries who agreed to build a wall round the Chelsea Physic Garden.⁶² He also held office in the Society of Apothecaries, being renter warden in 1676, and he was elected to the position of master in 1680, although he paid a fine rather than take up the post.⁶³ The use of casual apothecaries was common to the other hospitals; St. Bartholomew’s did not employ a permanent apothecary until 1614, and St. Thomas’s not until 1714.⁶⁴

It seems clear that Christ’s Hospital was prestigious enough to be able to attract the leading medical practitioners of the day, although the extent to which they actually practised medicine within the hospital is largely unknown. Christ’s was also of sufficient importance that, when in 1636 the College of Physicians learned that the hospital was intending to offer the post of physician to the apothecary/physician John Buggs, the college presented a petition to the Lord Mayor arguing against the appointment, although this intervention may have more to do with a long-running dispute between Buggs and the college than the welfare of the children of Christ’s

⁵⁹ Munk, *Roll*, vol. 1, pp. 219-221

⁶⁰ T.A., vol. 6, 1640/1.

⁶¹ Ibid, vol. 8, 1653/4.

⁶² Ruth Stungo, ‘Rand, Isaac (1674–1743), botanist.’ *ODNB* [accessed 18 December 2020].

⁶³ Charles R.B. Barrett, *The History of the Society of Apothecaries of London* (London: Elliot Stock, 1905), pp. 96-99.

⁶⁴ Raymond Stanley Roberts, *The London Apothecaries and Medical Practice in Tudor and Stuart England* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1964), pp. 390-1.

Hospital. The college considered Buggs an unlicensed practitioner, despite his M.D. from Leiden, and had also investigated a number of accusations that Buggs had caused the death of a number of his patients through his practice.⁶⁵

The nurses at Christ's Hospital worked under the direction of a matron. The matron was an important figure in the administration of an Elizabethan hospital, fulfilling a number of roles in addition to supervising the nurses, being responsible for the care of the patients and accounting for the material goods used in doing so. At Christ's Hospital the matron's charge of 1557 begins: 'Your office is an office of great charge and credite. For to yow is committed the governance and oversight of all the women and children within this hospitall.'⁶⁶ In managing the nursing staff she had to ensure that they 'be alwaies well occupied and not idle'.⁶⁷ She oversaw the wardrobe of the hospital and was charged with making an inventory of all clothing and bedding every quarter. She was also charged 'twise or thrice in every weke arise in the night, and goe as well into the sicke warde as also into every other warde, and there see that the children be covered in the beddes, wherby they take no colde'.⁶⁸ The importance of the matron's position was reflected in the relative generosity of the remuneration package. The first matron, Agnes Sexton, received £3 6s 8d per annum and 18d per week for her board as well as a livery, as did the matron of St. Bartholomew's.⁶⁹ When a new matron was appointed to Christ's Hospital in 1624 she received a house situated next to the wardrobe with a garden, and was paid £4 per annum plus £6 10s for food, £1 for her livery, and £3 16s for fuel. In addition, she was given £1 6s 8d per annum for her maid's wages and £3 18s for her maid's diet.⁷⁰

The nurses were responsible for the care of the children. Margaret Pelling has shown that during the early modern period the terms 'nursing' and 'nurse' do not have the same modern connotation of being related to medical care, rather they are best seen as referring to the idea of upbringing or providing nourishment and care, especially in the early years of life. The terms 'wet-' and 'dry-nursing' encompass a relationship between child and nurse which is akin to that of foster parent and foster

⁶⁵ Pelling and White, 'Buggs, John', in *Physicians database* [accessed 12 April 2019]; Roberts, *London Apothecaries*, pp. 302-8.

⁶⁶ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 101.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 102.

⁶⁹ Howes, *Manuscript* p. 37; Harkness, *View* p. 74.

⁷⁰ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 328.

child.⁷¹ The nurses' charge at Christ's Hospital reflects this, exhorting them to 'carefully and diligently oversee, keepe and governe all those tender babes and yonglings that shall be committed to your charge, and the same holesomly, cleanly and sweetly noorishe and bringe up'. Part of this responsibility involved checking the children every night to ensure that they were covered adequately and not cold, indicating at least that the intention of the City was to provide more than just the basics of survival.⁷² There is no differentiation made between nurses involved in the care of the healthy children and those nursing children in the sickward, but there is evidence that women were employed at both St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Hospital to do more than basic nursing. In 1638 a nurse at Christ's Hospital received £6 per annum 'for dressing the childrens soare heads & mouthes'; she later resigned from 'her place of surgionship'.⁷³ At St. Bartholomew's, women were employed to dispense medicines and treat skin complaints as well as to cure 'scald heads'. At St. Thomas's Mother Edwyn was hired several times to treat hernias in young boys and also to make trusses for them.⁷⁴ In 1553 Christ's employed twenty-five nurses on a salary of 40s per annum plus livery and 16d per week for food, to care for 380 children housed in London, a ratio of one nurse to just over fifteen children.⁷⁵ This contrasts with the one nurse to ten patients at the same time in St. Bartholomew's.⁷⁶ This disparity may reflect the difference between what was seen as an appropriate level of nurses for adults rather than children, or alternatively the difference between diseased or infirm patients, and children who were generally in good health.

Another primary duty of the nurses was to keep both their wards and their charges clean: they were required to ensure that 'before they be brought to bed, be washed and cleane'⁷⁷. Washing was likely to entail only hands and face as more extensive cleansing of the body was rare during this period.⁷⁸ Additionally, they were charged that they should 'keepe your warde and every parte therof swete and cleane',⁷⁹ a charge that they appear to have acquitted well, according to the comments of the

⁷¹ Pelling, *The Common Lot*, p. 184.

⁷² 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 102.

⁷³ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 249.

⁷⁴ Harkness, *View*, p. 78.

⁷⁵ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 37.

⁷⁶ Pelling, *The Common Lot*, p. 189.

⁷⁷ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 102.

⁷⁸ Pelling, M., 'Appearance and reality', p. 93.

⁷⁹ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 102.

Swiss physician Thomas Platter, who on a visit to London in 1599 commented on the cleanliness of Christ's Hospital in contrast to the rest of the city.⁸⁰

More than any other category of employee, the nurses' charge focused on the moral behaviour of the nurses, rather than the practical requirements of the job. They were charged to 'eschue all rayling, skoldinge, swearing and drunkennes', 'to avoid all idleness, when your charge and care of keping the children is paste, occupie yourselves in spinninge, sewing, mending of shets and shirts, or some other virtuous exercise'. They were also urged that they 'shall not resort, or suffer any man to resort to you, before ye have declared the same to the almoners, or matron of this howse, and have obtayned their lycence and favor so to doe'.⁸¹ They were required to stay within their wards and when the children were settled for the night having been washed the nurses should 'quietly shall goe to your bed, and not to sit up any longer'.⁸²

The hospital appears to have been more involved with the medical treatment of children in the sixteenth century than in the seventeenth. In 1559 a boy 'beinge lame on one legge was admitted for surgereye', with the parents agreeing to take the child back once he was recovered.⁸³ Anne Walker was admitted aged 9 months in 1576 'being a very sickly child'. She was sent to nurse with Bridget Burling where she died a year later,⁸⁴ and in 1571 Richard Robynson 'being taken up in the streets being swollen very sore in the body in consideration of his extremity was this day also admitted'.⁸⁵ William Chambers was admitted aged fifteen, an age at which he would not normally be admitted, on 7 August 1574 from the parish of St. Benet Gracechurch. He remained at Christ's Hospital for almost eight months before being transferred to the Lock on 3 April 1575, where he died in January 1578/9.⁸⁶

The hospital was also willing to be responsible for the medical care of at least some children after they had been discharged. Elizabeth Watson was admitted on 9 April

⁸⁰ Vivienne Larminie, 'Platter, Thomas (1574–1628), physician and traveller' *ODNB* [accessed 12 May. 2019].

⁸¹ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 102.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Pearce. *Annals*, p. 39.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Allan. *Admissions*, p. 125.

1569 aged eight having been ‘taken up sick out of the street’. She was discharged on 15 April 1571 to Alice Rawlyns, her nurse, ‘as her own’, and then on 14 April 1576, by which time she would have been around fifteen years old, she was readmitted ‘having the bluddie fluxe and wanting succour’. ⁸⁷ William Jackson aged 16, who had been apprenticed to a packthread maker in Bermondsey Street, was readmitted on 7 April 1575: ‘Having the falling sickness is returned again.’⁸⁸

The role of Christ’s Hospital in the treatment of sick or disabled children changed over time. During the sixteenth century there were a number of admissions of children who were infirm in one way or another and, as already demonstrated, a degree of interaction with other hospitals in London, notably St. Bartholomew’s and the former lazaret houses of the city. The seventeenth century however seems to mark a change in policy on the admittance of sick children. There is only one reference in the children’s registers to an admission where the child was ill: Elizabeth Andrewes aged 9 was admitted on 28 January 1619/20 from St. Bartholomew’s Hospital and later died in ‘the spittle at Knights bridge’, although the date of her death is unrecorded, and it is not clear if she had been discharged from St. Bartholomew’s as cured and suffered a subsequent relapse. This policy was formalised by the court on 6 April 1655 when it decreed that ‘for ye tyme to come this Court Ordered that no Child shall be admitted... Lame or other wayes infirme of ye body, unless some special reasons be shewed for ye same’. ⁸⁹

For a short period in 1582 the hospital seemed especially concerned with not admitting infants who might develop intellectual disabilities. In the admission records for June, July and August of that year, the entry records for five infants below the age of one specified they would be returned to the referring parish should they prove to be intellectually or developmentally disabled. There was a total of ten admissions below the age of one in that three-month period, seven of which were parish admissions, two were from the Lord Mayor and Court of Alderman, and the other was the child of a Christ’s Hospital staff member. Ellen Symes was admitted 16 June 1582 aged six months from St. Mary Somerset with a note added to the record: ‘If this child prove an Innocent it is to be returned to the parish.’ She was

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 88, 136.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 135.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.41.

discharged in 1597 when she was ‘put a covenant servant to John Winbutt of Southwark’ for seven years, and then in July 1598 she was ‘put again to Thomas Lorey of Westminster, haberdasher’.⁹⁰ On 23 June 1582 Mathew Holt aged six weeks was admitted from St. Giles Cripplegate ‘to continue if it be not an innocent’.⁹¹ Three other children, all from different parishes, also had this type of conditional admission, although none of them was ultimately returned to their parishes. The reason for this short period of concern by the hospital authorities is unknown, although it is likely that this was a reaction to a previous admission of an intellectually disabled child. There are no other entries of a similar nature before or after this period.

There is little in the records to indicate how the children were actually treated in the sickward, and the types of remedies that were administered. William Clowes claimed that ‘I have cured manie sore mouthes specially in children when I was Chiurgion unto the children of Christs Hospitall, where I have had twenty, or thirty infected with the scorby at a time’.⁹² Clowes had treated similarly affected sailors with a scurvy-grass beer made by bruising scurvy-grass, a herb of the cabbage family rich in vitamin C, and mixing it with beer and infusing the solution with cinnamon, pepper and beer.⁹³ It is likely that Clowes used the same remedies on the children of Christ’s Hospital as he did on sailors.

There is surprisingly little information in the records about the hospital’s response to outbreaks of plague in the city. Plague orders drawn up by the Crown and Privy Council were implemented by municipal authorities, although as both Vanessa Harding and Paul Slack point out, these orders were not always rigorously enforced by the City of London.⁹⁴ Quarantine of infected or potentially infected citizens was desirable,⁹⁵ and the congregation of large numbers of people was to be minimised:

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 170.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Clowes, *A profitable and necessarie booke*, p. 42.

⁹³ R. Elwyn Hughes, ‘The rise and fall of the “antiscorbutics”: some notes on the traditional cures for “land scurvy”’, *Medical History*, 34.1 (1990), pp. 61-62.

⁹⁴ Vanessa Harding, ‘Plague in Early Modern London: Chronologies, localities and environments’ in *Plague and the City*, ed. by Lukas Engelmann, John Henderson and Christos Lynteris (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), p. 42; Paul Slack, *The impact of plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1985), pp. 214-15.

⁹⁵ Harding, *Plague*, p. 43.

plays were banned for example, in times of plague.⁹⁶ Clothing and bedding were also a potential source of infection which ideally should be burned, or at the very least measures taken to limit the circulation of these items.⁹⁷

This type of infection obviously provided challenges for an institution such as Christ's Hospital, with its large population of children and staff all sharing a confined space. In addition, the hospital was situated within the city and parts of its land were public thoroughfares, making it difficult for the hospital to isolate itself from the rest of the city. Measures were taken however to limit the exposure of members of the hospital to plague. In 1581, when plague was present in the city, the governors stopped the transfer of children at nurse in the country to London, imposed a ban on children going into the city and attending funerals, and stopped city children attending school at Christ's Hospital.⁹⁸ Likewise, during the epidemic of 1603 the court decreed that the schools should be dissolved 'until it shall please God the infeccion doe cease', and also asked the schoolmasters to 'content themselves therewith' and 'wander not abroad'. A number of the children were infected by plague in this year as the surgeon William Martin was paid an additional £3 'for his great paines that hath bin visited with plague', and the sickward nurses shared an extra payment of 30s.⁹⁹

The efforts to limit the spread of plague provoked a complaint from Humphrey Waynman, master of the writing school, in 1637. He complained that he had lost out financially as 'keeping schoole' was 'forbidden by Authority in the sickness tyme', and that he had additionally 'lately buryed two of ye sickness'. The governors awarded him £10 for his 'great care and paines'.¹⁰⁰

The schoolmasters and other officers of the hospital also appealed to the court for extra payment following the plague of 1665 when they argued that 'during all this time of sickness and mortalitie they have been resident and carefull in the faithfull discharge of their severall offices and places and had therein been exercised with extraordinary paines and trouble about the poore children of this Hospitall'. A total

⁹⁶ Slack, *Impact*, p. 213.

⁹⁷ Harding, *Plague*, p. 43.

⁹⁸ C.M.B., vol. 2, f. 305.

⁹⁹ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 207.

of £40 was allocated to them, of which the grammar school master received £10 as ‘all his pay-schollers were dismiss by order, which was the greatest part of his livelihood.’¹⁰¹ The impact of plague on the hospital will be further discussed below.

4.4 Mortality

In this section I will examine the mortality rates at Christ’s Hospital and try to ascertain the impact of being a child of the hospital had on prospects of survival into adulthood. Christ’s Hospital admitted children at all ages so I will look at the survival rates for children entering at different ages and whether this changes over time, as well as any gender differences. Due to the limitations of the available data outlined below I will present the results in data tables, and not attempt, as Alysa Levene has done for example with data from the London Foundling Hospital,¹⁰² any statistical modelling.

Children’s deaths are recorded as discharges in the children’s register and, as stated previously, many of the discharge entries are either missing completely or give incomplete information. The conclusions drawn here will therefore only be based on entries with both admission and discharge information. At the start of the first volume of the children’s register there is a list of children described as ‘now remaining’ who were already at the hospital. They are entered in the same format as the rest of the register, although it is unclear if the recorded ages of the children were their ages on admission or their ages in 1563, and it is impossible to ascertain this as admission dates are not recorded. For this reason, these entries do not feature in any of the data used in this chapter. Causes of death are not usually given, except in a very few incidences of accidental death: on 22 June 1577 Thomas Mason ‘was drowned by misfortune in a pond in Islington fold wading there’,¹⁰³ and in 1629 James Senior was ‘killed in the towne ditch by a carte’.¹⁰⁴ As there are only eight recorded accidental deaths between 1563 and 1666 this will not provide much useful information. There is only one other entry where cause of death is reported, although it is not a typical admission. One of the children listed as remaining in 1563, Thomas

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Alysa Levene, *Childcare, health and mortality at the London Foundling Hospital, 1741-1800: “Left to the mercy of the world”* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 68.

¹⁰³ Allan, *Admissions*, p.143.

¹⁰⁴ C.R., vol. 2, f. 83.

Goodchaunce, on 4 April 1563 was given 'to the custodie of Mr. Jackson Tresurar'. On 20 October 1569 he was 'buried at the Grammar School door and died of the plague in Mr. Tresurers howse aforsaide'.¹⁰⁵ Why the child was lodged with the treasurer is unknown, but it may be that there was a personal connection between the boy's family and the treasurer, and the location of his burial at the grammar school door indicates some sort of special treatment. It is difficult therefore to draw any meaningful conclusions about the types of illness that had high mortality rates amongst the children, apart from a general correlation in plague years in which mortality was higher than the years immediately preceding.

At any given time, a large proportion of the hospital population would be lodged with nurses outside of London, and although the records sometimes give the location of the death (for example, John Mondaie is recorded as having 'died in the country with George Roades of Burnt Pellam' in 1591),¹⁰⁶ they do not always do so. Many entries simply say, 'died at nurse' and as the hospital put children to nurse in London as well as the country, it makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the survival chances of children nursed in London compared with those nursed outside of the city. This is further complicated by the fact that children were regularly moved between nurses, so even if the original nurse is recorded on admission it is likely that the child would have been moved between admission and death, and the intervening nurses are often not recorded. Another difficulty in trying to assess differences in survival rates between children in London and the country is the likelihood that sick children were returned to London to be nursed in the sickward. Gillian Clark has commented on the under-recording of Christ's Hospital nurse children in Berkshire parish burial records and concluded that sick children were routinely returned to London, which means that the deaths would have been recorded as being in the sickward.¹⁰⁷ There is one entry in the children's register,¹⁰⁸ although children were routinely returned to the hospital at Easter every year for inspection, and it may be coincidental that the child died on the visit. It would also seem that that Clark's conclusion needs to be qualified since a large number of children were recorded as

¹⁰⁵ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 222.

¹⁰⁷ Gillian Clark, *The Nurse Children of London, 1540-1750: A Population Study* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Reading University, 1988), p. 240.

¹⁰⁸ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 31.

dying at nurse. I will comment on this further later in this chapter. Another difficulty with assessing the survival rates of children sent to nurse is that after 1591 the children's registers no longer record whether or not children were sent to nurse. This will be explored more fully in the section on deaths at nurse.

Age on death is also impossible to calculate completely accurately as dates of birth were not recorded, and only the approximate age of the child was entered in the admissions register. For children under the age of one, ages were given in days, weeks or months. Children above the age of one were generally described in years only, or for younger children occasionally by a fraction of a year as well. Both Dorothie Broker, admitted 12 February 1563/4, and Sible Loggen, admitted 18 March of the same year, were described as 1 $\frac{1}{4}$.¹⁰⁹

Dates of death are also not necessarily accurate, particularly for children who died outside the hospital. On entries where it has been possible to find a corresponding burial record there is often a discrepancy, and some cases of carers fraudulently claiming money for children already dead. Further information on this is contained in the sections on death with nurses and parents. The practice of placing children at nurse is problematic when considering the location of deaths as children are often recorded as dying with the mother, and it is rarely specified whether the child was at nurse with the mother or was visiting from the hospital. There are a few instances where the information can be inferred. For example, Joshua Nicholson, in 1658, was 'deceased with the mother being taken out of this house one Fryday and dyed one Saturday',¹¹⁰ but most entries say only 'died with the mother'.

In view of the difficulties in accurately attributing ages to the children, as described above, all calculations of age on death have been made by taking the stated age on admission and adding the number of years between the admission and discharge dates, giving a margin of error of +/- one year. For calculations of length of time spent under the care of the hospital before death the admission and discharge dates have been used, and again there is a margin of error due to the likelihood that the discharge date does not record the actual date of death.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 57.

¹¹⁰ C.R., vol. 3, f. 149.

One further issue with the hospital records is that there appears to be a significant under-recording of deaths between 1594 and 1616, compared with the preceding and following years, and in 13 of those years no deaths were recorded at all. In the 23 year period 1594-1616 only 40 deaths were recorded. The highest annual death number is 18, recorded in 1603, a known plague year. There were 658 recorded deaths in the preceding 23 years (1571-93), and 660 in the following 23 years (1617-39), in both cases giving an average of 29 deaths per annum. The period of apparent low mortality coincides approximately with the tenure of Robert Cogan as treasurer of the hospital (1593-1611), which may indicate that Cogan instigated a change of policy regarding the recording of deaths. Other discharges were recorded during this period at similar levels to the preceding and following years, so deaths may have been recorded elsewhere, although I have been unable to locate any evidence of this. Some 1,712 admission entries in the children's registers lack a corresponding discharge entry, making it impossible to know whether these children survived or not. However, of those admissions lacking discharge records, 820 (48 per cent), were for the period 1593-1616. If the missing discharge records were spread evenly across the whole of the period covered here (1563-1666) the number between 1563 and 1615 should be 382, or 22.31 per cent. In view of this it is not possible to calculate accurate mortality rates for admissions in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Most earlier studies of Christ's Hospital have ignored the question of mortality at the hospital, and neither Manzione nor Pearce pay any attention to the survival chances of the children in their books. Manzione did however calculate mortality rates for the sixteenth century in a later journal article, although she did this as part of an assessment of the final destination of the children, and the section dealing with mortality is short and not very detailed, producing only three sets of figures: deaths by gender/foundlings, location of decease, and interval between admission and death.¹¹¹ She arrives at an overall mortality rate of 34.7 per cent.¹¹² There are several problems however with Manzione's methodology, and with her assertion that between 1553 and 1598 there were 3,095 admissions of which 1,074, died giving the mortality rate of 34.7 per cent, which she says is similar to child mortality in wealthy

¹¹¹ Manzione, *Identity*, pp. 428-455.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 432.

London parishes. Firstly, admissions were not methodically recorded in the children's registers until 1563 and prior to this date no formal register of admissions seems to have been kept, although there are some references to admissions in the court minute books. G.A.T. Allen suggests that prior to 1563, rather than a formal register of children, the hospital had relied on a 'general "stock taking" or census'.¹¹³ At the start of the children's register in 1563 there is a section described as 'remaining' which lists 331 children already under the care of the hospital but does not record the admission dates of these children. The 3,095 admissions to which Manzione refers actually comprised 2,764 admissions between 1563 and 1598, and the 331 children listed as 'remaining' in 1563. The second problem with her figures is that deaths are recorded in the discharge column of the register, along with other types of discharges, and many discharge records are blank. Manzione's calculation does not take this into account and so effectively assumes that there were no deaths amongst the children where the information is missing. If these entries in the children's registers between 1563-98 are removed from the calculation it leaves 1,959 admissions, of which 919 are recorded as deceased in the discharge column, giving a mortality rate of 46.91 per cent for the period. The inclusion of the children listed as 'remaining' in 1563 also distorts the results of her table detailing the interval between admission and death, as the admission dates of these children are unknown.¹¹⁴ Manzione offers no analysis of the data, for example she does not discuss the effects of plague epidemics on the mortality rates of the children. By not presenting the data in smaller time frames there is no opportunity to monitor fluctuations in mortality over different periods.

The other study of mortality at Christ's Hospital is a short paper by Carole Cunningham published in *Local Population Studies*.¹¹⁵ Cunningham's study is more limited, covering only the period between 1563-1583, and mortality of children under five on admission, and also dying before the age of five. Cunningham's study illustrates the difficulties of using the admissions data to calculate infant and child mortality, and she chooses to process the data using assumptions taken from other mortality studies. For example, she shows 282 admissions of children under one year

¹¹³ Allen, *Admissions*, Preface.

¹¹⁴ Manzione, *Identity*, p. 433.

¹¹⁵ Carole Cunningham, 'Christ's hospital: infant and child mortality in the sixteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 18 (1977), pp. 37-40.

of age during the period of her study, of which ninety-one died before their first birthday, which gives an infant mortality rate of 323 per thousand. However, she then asserts that this is not a true infant mortality rate and notes that only thirteen of them were admitted aged under one month and that 'it has been estimated that half who died within the first year do so before they are one month old'.¹¹⁶ This is based on correspondence with Roger Schofield who advised that a number of parish family reconstitution studies have shown that between 50 and 60 per cent of deaths of children aged under one occurred in their first month.¹¹⁷ Using this information, she then recalculated using the formula $M = 2y/x+y$ where M is infant mortality, x equals the total number of children admitted under one, and y equals the number of infants dying under the age of one. From this a mortality rate of 493 per thousand is arrived at which Cunningham describes as a minimum estimate, claiming that the real figure would be well over 500 per thousand.¹¹⁸ She makes another adjusted calculation of infant mortality using work by E. A. Wrigley and Thomas Rogers Forbes, which suggests that the proportion of infant deaths between six months and one year is about one sixth of the total number dying in the first year. She then re-calculates the infant mortality rate by multiplying the number of infants dying between six months and a year by six and dividing by the number alive at six months plus five times the number dying between six and twelve months, arriving at an infant mortality rate of 498 per thousand.¹¹⁹

My assumption is that Cunningham made the adjustment in order to compensate for the fact that the hospital was not admitting children from the day of their birth, so the admissions and deaths would not reflect the infant mortality rate in the wider population of London. She claims thirteen admissions under the age of one month between 1563 and 1583, but there were in fact fifteen, although one had no information beyond the admission. The youngest was John Orphante Bowyarde, a foundling discovered in Bow churchyard and admitted on 22 April 1564 and described as being eight days old. How the hospital was able to be so exact with his age is unclear, although it is possible that this information was provided by the parish. It is likely that he was the infant recorded in the register of baptisms for St.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 38.

¹¹⁷ Roger Schofield, 'Correspondence'. *Local Population Studies*, 9 (1972), pp. 49-52.

¹¹⁸ Cunningham, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 39.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Mary Le Bow parish on 17 April 1564: 'John, layd at Mr Horwoods door.'¹²⁰ We do not have vestry minutes or churchwardens' accounts for this period, so it is not possible to check this. He died at nurse with Jone Sparrow of Hatfield on 2 May.¹²¹ If the child with no information is excluded six of the remaining fourteen died before the age of one year. A cohort of fourteen children is too small to draw any conclusions from, but it is interesting to look at the survival rates, assuming that the dates of death are accurate. One survived for one day only, one ten days, one four weeks, one seven weeks and two survived for three months after admission. Cunningham argues that the children at Christ's Hospital had an 'appallingly high chance of dying before their first birthday' and suggests that one of the reasons for that could be a poor standard of nursing care provided for them,¹²² but in view of the short survival periods after admission for most of those who died I would argue that the mortality rate was due more to the poor health of the children on admission rather than poor nursing. John Orphante Bowyard demonstrates this: the experience of being abandoned in a churchyard and then a long journey to Hatfield from the hospital in Newgate Street at such a young age would severely limit his chances of survival. There is also a question around the adequacy of feeding arrangements for small infants during the transition from admittance to the hospital in Newgate Street and arrival at the wet nurse, particularly for those sent to nurses outside of the city. The nurses of Christ's Hospital were required to care for 'all those tender babes and yonglings'¹²³ admitted to the hospital, but the level of care that they were able to provide is uncertain. Of the remaining eight children: one died aged six; one died at an unknown age; two were known to be alive aged nine but there is no further information about them after this; one was known to be alive aged twelve, again with no further information after that point; and three survived to be apprenticed.¹²⁴ All of the three children known to have survived until normal discharge age were sent to nurse on admission. Sara Grenolde arrived at the hospital on 14 February 1572, aged fourteen days; she was sent on the same day to Robert Young in Hadlow and had at least five other nurse placements during her time under the care of the hospital. She

¹²⁰ *The Registers of St. Mary Le Bowe, Cheapside, All Hallows, Honey Lane, and of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, London*, ed. by Bruce Bannerman (London, 1914), p. 7.

¹²¹ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 58.

¹²² Cunningham, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 39.

¹²³ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 102.

¹²⁴ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 49, 58, 66, 108, 109, 113, 141, 151, 160, 171, 179, 181.

was discharged on 24 February 1587, apprenticed to ‘Thomas Marten and Elizabeth his wife’.¹²⁵ This would indicate a fairly high standard of care rather than poor as suggested by Cunningham. Another possible factor in the survival rates of these children is that none of them were foundlings and they may have been in a better state of health on admission. I will examine the survival chances of foundlings compared to non-foundlings later in this chapter.

Both Manzione and Cunningham use admission dates as the basis for their analysis, which will show the survival chances for children admitted at a particular point in time, but as neither uses discharge dates exogenous factors cannot be taken into account. For example during the plague year of 1593 there were 47 deaths, compared to seven in the following year. Both papers illustrate the way in which data from the children’s registers can be used to support different conclusions: Cunningham finds a high rate of infant mortality, whilst Manzione gives the impression of a relatively low child mortality rate, although she makes no attempt to distinguish between infant and child mortality. In the rest of this chapter I will use data primarily from the children’s register as well as other secondary sources on infant and child mortality to place my findings within the broader debate on mortality in London during the early modern period.

I will begin with an overview of mortality at the hospital across the period, although the limitations of the data available from the hospital records discussed earlier must be borne in mind, and the figures presented here are based on the number of admissions or discharges in individual years. As such they do not represent the whole population of the hospital. Overall population figures are only available for a few years and these will be discussed below.

Figure 4-1 shows the number of admissions and deaths per decade, and Figure 4-2 is a simple count of deaths per year. In themselves they do not show too much, apart from the spikes in mortality during the plague years of 1592-3, 1625, 1636-7 and 1666, and a decline in recorded mortality in the seventeenth century. The fall in mortality between 1590 and 1610 visible in Figure 4-1 is most likely due to the

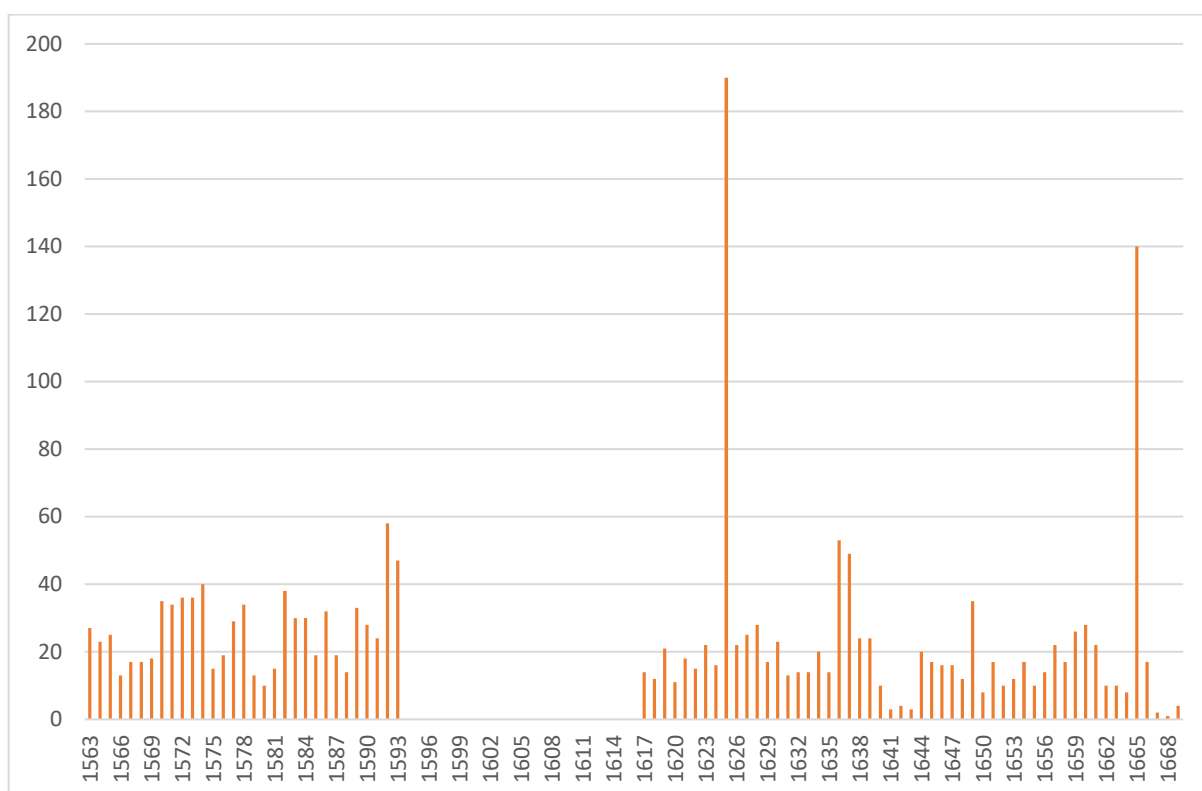
¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 108.

under-recording of deaths as noted above, and in Figure 4-2 the discharge years 1594-1616 have been omitted.

Figure 4-1: Deaths per decade based on admission year

	Number of admissions excluding those with no discharge information	No. of Deaths	Deaths per 000
1563-69	495	266	537
1570-79	636	298	469
1580-89	523	279	533
1590-99	316	81	256
1600-09	301	30	100
1610-19	606	131	216
1620-29	1070	356	333
1630-39	843	226	268
1640-49	790	154	195
1650-59	1218	314	258
1660-66	161	34	211

Figure 4-2: Deaths per discharge year 1563-93 and 1617-69 (n=2,018)



Figures 4-3, 4-4 and 4-5 below show deaths in relation to other discharges based on discharge year, excluding the years 1594-1616. What is striking is that the proportion of deaths to other discharges falls quite markedly in the seventeenth century.

Figure 4-3: Deaths and other discharges 1563-93 by discharge year (n=1,519)

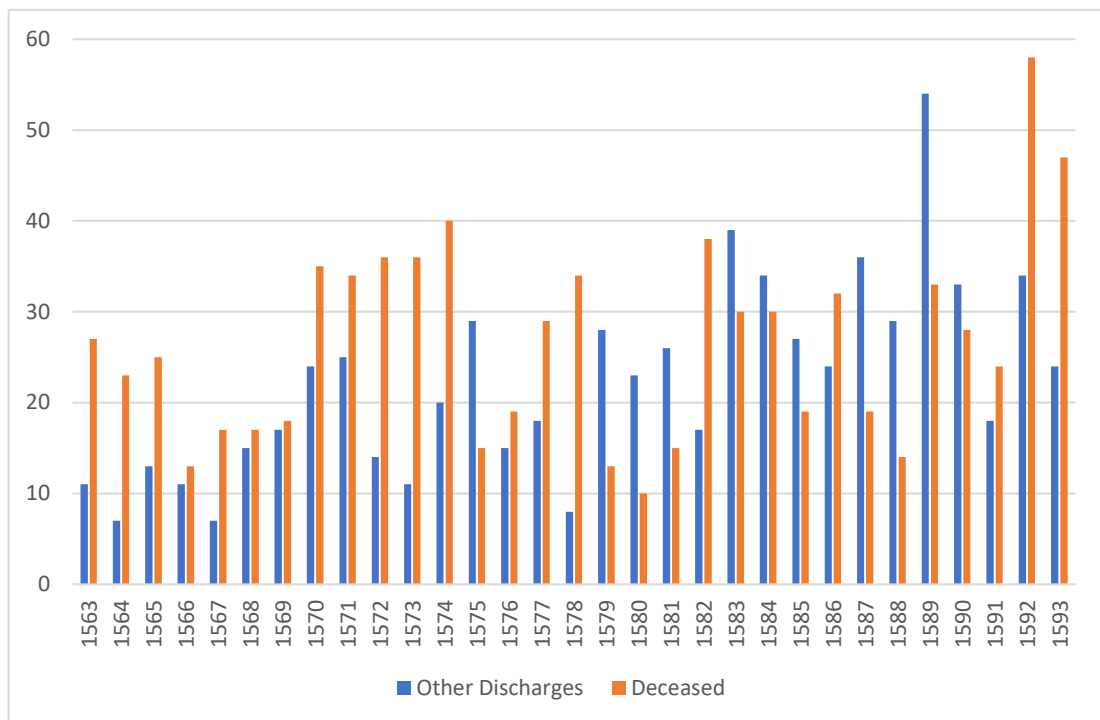


Figure 4-4: Deaths and other discharges by discharge year 1617-70 (n=4,564)

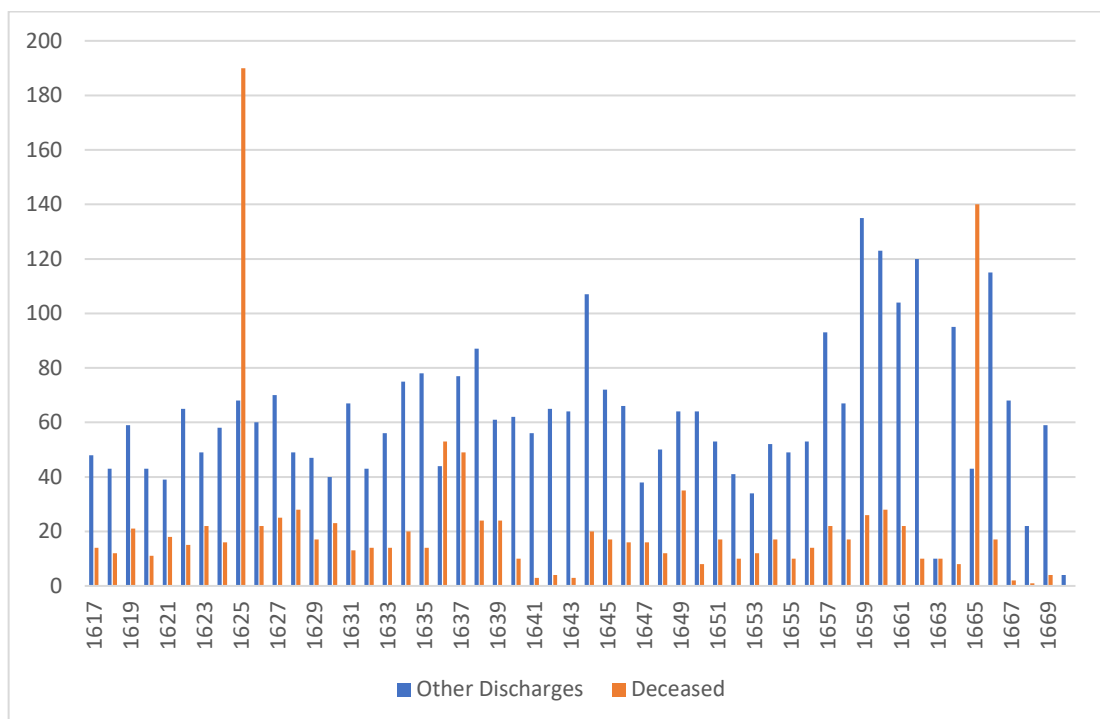
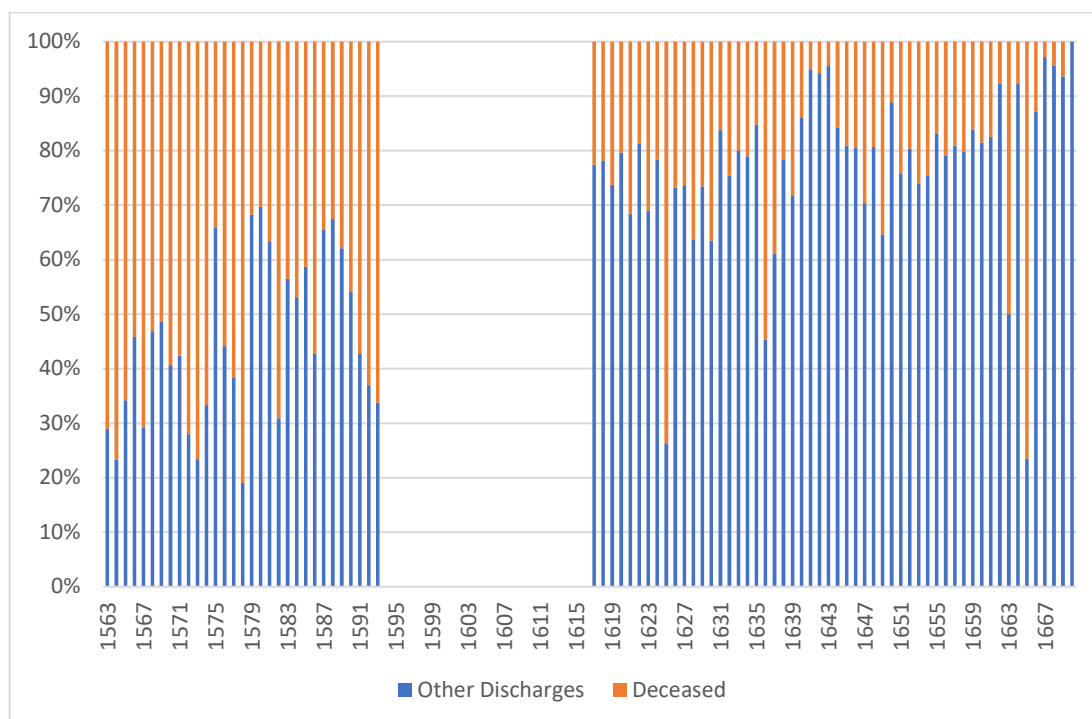


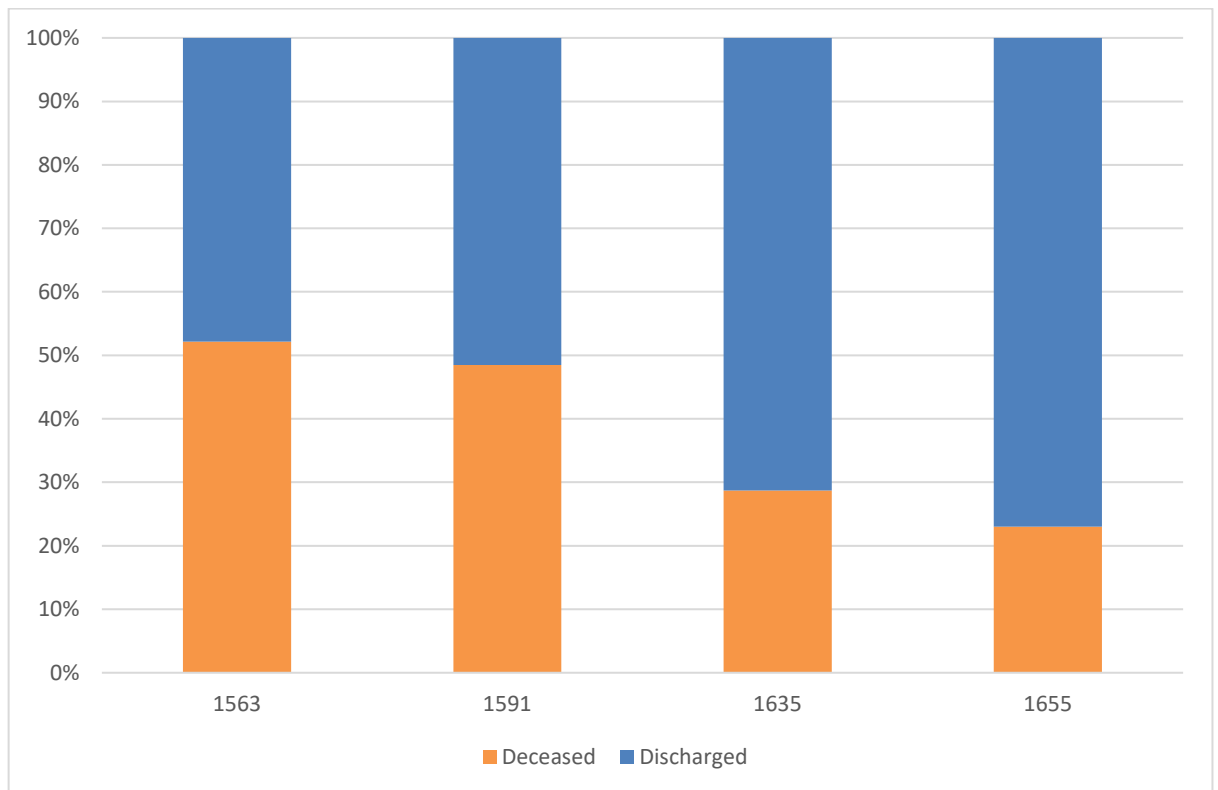
Figure 4-5: Ratio of deaths to other discharges 1563-93 and 1617-70 by discharge year (n=6,083)



A sample of four admission years — 1563, 1591, 1635 and 1666 — illustrates the falling ratio of deaths to discharges in the seventeenth century, as shown in Figure 4-6. Of the two sixteenth century cohorts, around 50 per cent survived until discharge, 47.86 per cent in 1563 and 51.52 per cent in 1591. The survival rates for the seventeenth century cohorts are more impressive, with 71.3 per cent of the children admitted in 1635 reaching discharge age, and 76.99 per cent of the 1655 admissions being discharged. It should be noted that in 1613 the official discharge age was lowered from sixteen to fifteen,¹²⁶ but as the average age of death was seven in the sixteenth century and nine in the seventeenth, this earlier discharge age would not account for the improving chances of survival in the seventeenth century.

¹²⁶ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 172.

Figure 4-6: Ratio of deaths to discharges



Whilst the mortality rates observed for the seventeenth century are broadly similar to those observed by Peter Razzell and Christine Spence in their study of infant and child mortality in London,¹²⁷ based on the family histories of Percival Boyd, the mortality rates in the sixteenth century were considerably higher. The combined infant and child mortality rate for the period 1563-99 was 467 per 1,000 at Christ's Hospital, and Razzell and Spence found an infant mortality rate of 155 per 1,000 and a child mortality rate of 168 per 1,000 for the period 1539-99. For the period 1600-49 Razzell and Spence recorded an infant mortality rate of 238 per 1,000 and a child mortality rate of 224 per 1,000.¹²⁸ The combined rate at Christ's Hospital for the same period was 249 per 1,000.

Nicholas Terpstra, in a comparative study of orphanages in Florence and Bologna, has noted that orphanages that were able to be more selective of the children that they admitted had better outcomes than those who took in larger numbers of poor

¹²⁷ Peter Razzell and Christine Spence, 'The History of Infant, Child and Adult Mortality in London, 1550-1850,' *London Journal*, 32.3 (2007), pp. 271-92.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 277.

and unhealthy children,¹²⁹ citing two censuses from S. Nicolo Conservatory in 1570 and 1579, and one from the Pietà in Florence from 1555. Neither of these institutions took young children. S. Nicolo admitted girls of six and above, and almost 40 per cent of Pietà admissions were over fourteen on admission, so they are not directly comparable with Christ's Hospital. The mortality rate at The Pietà however is very similar to the sixteenth century rate at Christ's Hospital: 47.4 per cent at The Pietà for the 1555 cohort, and 46.9 per cent for admissions at Christ's Hospital 1563-99. The two studies of S. Nicolo saw no mortality at all which Terpsta attributes to the difference in the health of the girls on admission.¹³⁰

The limitation of using admission or discharge figures is that they do not reflect the total number of children being cared for by the hospital at any one time, and these figures are not generally available. The few years in which these numbers are available appear to show a relatively low mortality rate, as seen in Figure's 4-7 to 4-9 below, but the limitation of looking at mortality in this way is that, apart from the total number of children, no other information such as age or gender is known, nor even how many of them were being housed in the main hospital, or how many outside.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Nicholas Terpstra, 'Making a Living, Making a Life: Work in the Orphanages of Florence and Bologna', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31.4 (2000), p. 1063.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 1070.

¹³¹ Numbers for 1590-1600 are taken from T.A. vol. 2; Numbers for 1610-1643 are extrapolated from, *A psalme of thanks-giving to be sung by the children of Christs-Hospital, on Monday in the Easter Holy-dayes, at S. Maries Spittle, for their founders and benefactors* (London, various years); 1644-1653 and 1665 numbers are from *A true report of the great costs and charges* (London, various years); 1655, 1656 and 1658 from *A true report of the great number of poor children and other poor people maintained in the severall hospitals by the pious care of the Lord Mayor, commonality and citizens of the city of London* (London, various years); The figure for 1661 is taken from C.M.B., vol. 5, pp. 854/855, 'there being present above 700'.

Figure 4-7: Deaths and total hospital population in London and the country

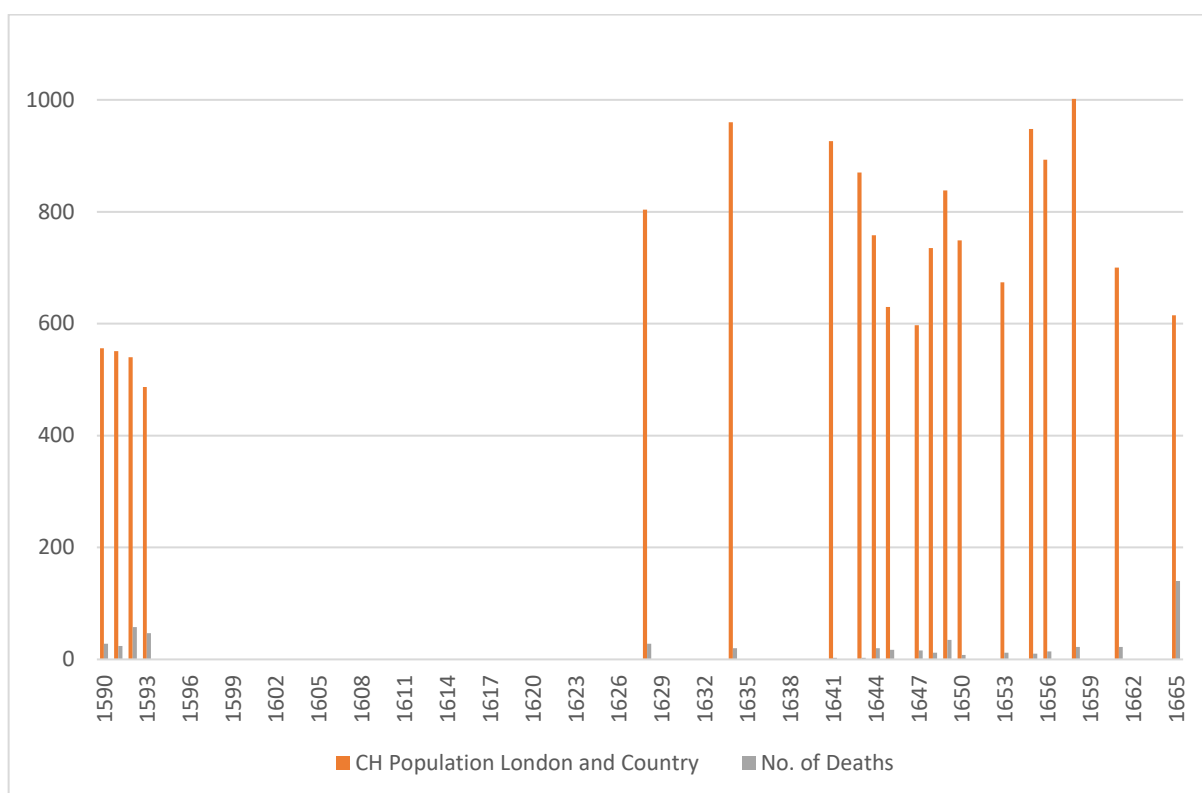


Figure 4-8: Deaths per thousand relative to total hospital population in London and country

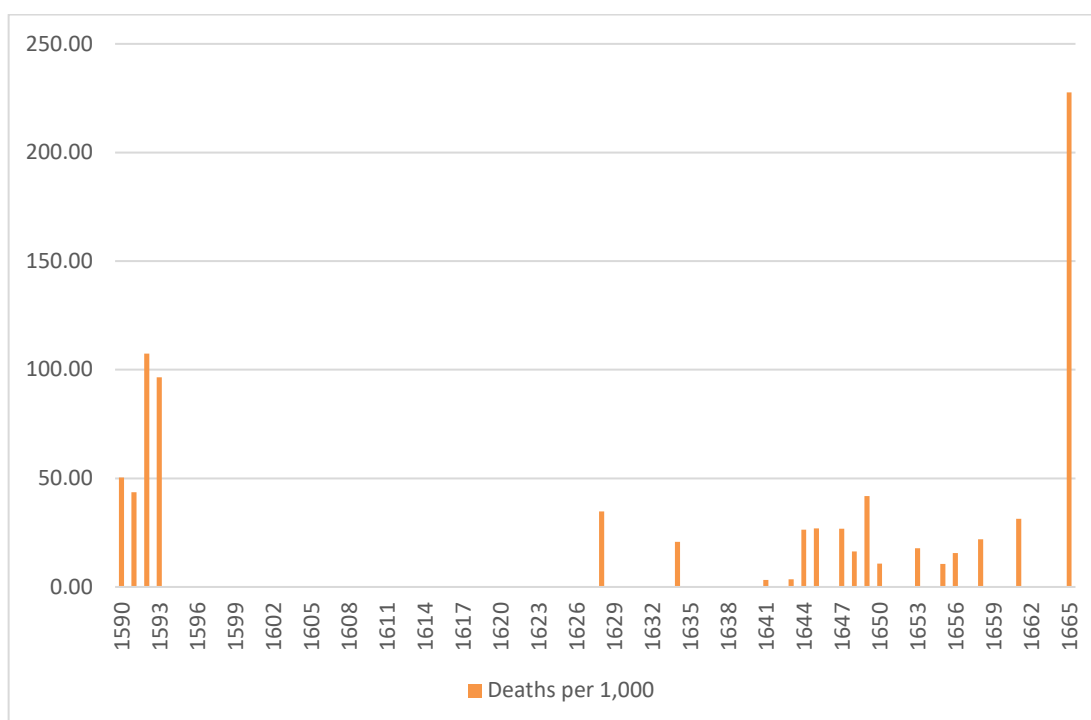


Figure 4-9: Deaths per 000

Year	CH Population London and Country	No. of Deaths	Deaths per 000
1590	556	28	50.36
1591	551	24	43.56
1592	540	58	107.41
1593	487	47	96.51
1594	504	7	13.89
1595	536	0	0.00
1596	592	1	1.69
1597	656	5	7.62
1598	665	0	0.00
1599	654	0	0.00
1600	662	0	0.00
1610	630	1	1.59
1628	804	28	34.83
1634	960	20	20.83
1641	926	3	3.24
1643	870	3	3.45
1644	758	20	26.39
1645	630	17	26.98
1647	597	16	26.80
1648	735	12	16.33
1649	838	35	41.77
1650	749	8	10.68
1653	674	12	17.80
1655	948	10	10.55
1656	893	14	15.68
1658	1002	22	21.96
1661	700	22	31.43

1665	615	140	227.64
------	-----	-----	--------

The survival chances of children are shown in table 4-10 below, expressed as the percentage of children admitted in four age-bands surviving to age ten.

Unsurprisingly the likelihood of survival increases as the admission age does. As has been shown elsewhere in this chapter survival rates are better for the seventeenth century.

Figure 4-10: Survival until ten years old based on age on admission

AGE	<1	1-2	2-3	4-5
1563-99	32.1	51.09	60.54	68.04
1600-66	57.69	64.15	69.77	85.07

As already noted, age at death is impossible to calculate accurately for the Christ's Hospital children as ages on admission were usually recorded in whole years and there are no dates of birth or baptism, so ages given here are approximations calculated by taking the stated age on admission and adding the number of years between admission and discharge.

Alysa Levene has reported that 64.9 per cent of children admitted to the London Foundling Hospital between 1741 and 1799 died,¹³² which compares with 46.9 per cent at Christ's Hospital for the period 1563-99 and 24.9 per cent for the period 1600-66. Whilst data from the Foundling Hospital provides an opportunity to compare rates of institutional mortality, direct comparison is misleading, as Christ's Hospital admitted children of all ages and the Foundling Hospital did not. If the calculations are done using only children admitted to Christ's Hospital under the age of one, then the results are broadly similar to Levene's, showing a mortality rate of 66.05 per cent for the whole period 1563-1666. Levene notes that there were mortality variations over time, and this was also true for Christ's Hospital, where mortality rates for infants were lower in the seventeenth century than the sixteenth (72.4 per cent in the sixteenth century and 49 per cent in the seventeenth).

¹³² Levene, *Childcare*, p. 18.

The mortality rates at both the Foundling Hospital and Christ's Hospital compare poorly with family reconstitution studies by both Gill Newton and Roger Finlay covering a number of London parishes. Newton calculated infant mortality in Cheapside (five parishes) and St. James Clerkenwell between 1600 and 1753; Finlay calculated infant and child mortality for four poorer London parishes — St. Dunstan in the East, St. Mary Somerset, All Hallows London Wall and St. Botolph Bishopsgate. — for varying periods between 1580 and 1650.¹³³ Both Newton and Finlay classify infant mortality as death within the first year of life. Figure 4-11 below compares Newton's and Finlay's parish findings with the institutional figures from Christ's Hospital and the Foundling Hospital.

Figure 4-11: Comparison of mortality rates between Christ's Hospital children, the Foundling Hospital & selected London parishes¹³⁴

Location	Dates	Number	Mortality per 000
Christ's Hospital (Aged <1 on Adm)	1563-99	394	724
	1600-66	145	490
Foundling Hospital	1741-99	18,539	649
Cheapside	1600-24	856	148
	1625-49	705	201
	1650-74	479	207
Clerkenwell	1600-24	2404	266
	1625-49	2903	270
	1650-74	3353	250
St. Dunstan in the East	1600-53	707	234
St. Mary Somerset	1605-53	520	256
All Hallows London Wall	1570-1636	284	166
St. Botolph Bishopsgate	1600-50	401	185

¹³³ Newton, G., 'Infant Mortality Variations, Feeding Practices and Social Status in London between 1550 and 1750', *Social History of Medicine*, 24.2 (2011), p.270; Finlay, *Population*, p. 104.

¹³⁴ Levene, *Childcare*, p. 18; Newton, *Infant Mortality*, p. 270, Finlay, *Population*, p.104.

The figures are not directly comparable and the sample sizes vary considerably. Finlay and Newton's studies are family reconstitutions from parish records, and are for infant mortality, whilst the Foundling and Christ's Hospital figures are from the hospital records and based on children admitted at less than one year of age, although not necessarily dying within the first year of life. Despite these caveats, they do appear to show a stark disparity in mortality, with a much higher rate of mortality in the two hospitals compared to that within the parishes. There are a number of possible explanations for this, apart from the obvious conclusion that institutional life was detrimental to health, and that Christ's Hospital children were in poor health when admitted. One issue is the number of children born and baptised in London parishes sent to nurse outside London, whose subsequent deaths and burials would have occurred also outside the city. Finlay has acknowledged this problem and suggests it as a possible explanation of apparent lower death rates in wealthier parishes compared to poorer ones.¹³⁵ Peter Razzell's study of infant mortality in London between 1538 and 1850 highlights several issues concerning the use of parish records for family reconstitution studies and finds significant under-recording of deaths in parish records.¹³⁶ In trying to trace nurse children through parish records and through the International Genealogical Index, Gillian Clark also concluded that 'there was under-recording on many levels'.¹³⁷ The Christ's Hospital data can be seen to be accurate as admission and discharge entries can be matched without the need for a parish burial entry, and children with no discharge information can be excluded. Due to the difficulties in accurately calculating age on death, differentiating between infant and child mortality is not possible, and in any event the absence of children being admitted immediately after birth means that a significant cohort would be missing from the calculation.

It seems clear that the lower seventeenth century mortality at the hospital rate can be attributed to the reduction in the number of children under the age of one being admitted. During the sixteenth century 19.94 per cent of all admissions were under one year of age, but in the seventeenth century this had fallen significantly to just 4.53 per cent. It could be thought that one reason for the declining mortality rate is

¹³⁵ Finlay, *Population*, p. 29.

¹³⁶ Peter Razzell, 'Infant mortality in London, 1538-1850: a methodological study', *Local Population Studies*, 87 (2011), p. 64.

¹³⁷ Clark, *Nurse Children* p. 411

that not so many infants had to endure a long journey to nurse outside of London, but Levene has shown the opposite to be true and the further a foundling travelled from London the better its chance of survival, reinforcing the view that life in the country was healthier for children.¹³⁸

Figure 4-12: Ratio of mortality and survival to discharge of children admitted below the age of one 1563-93 (n=371)

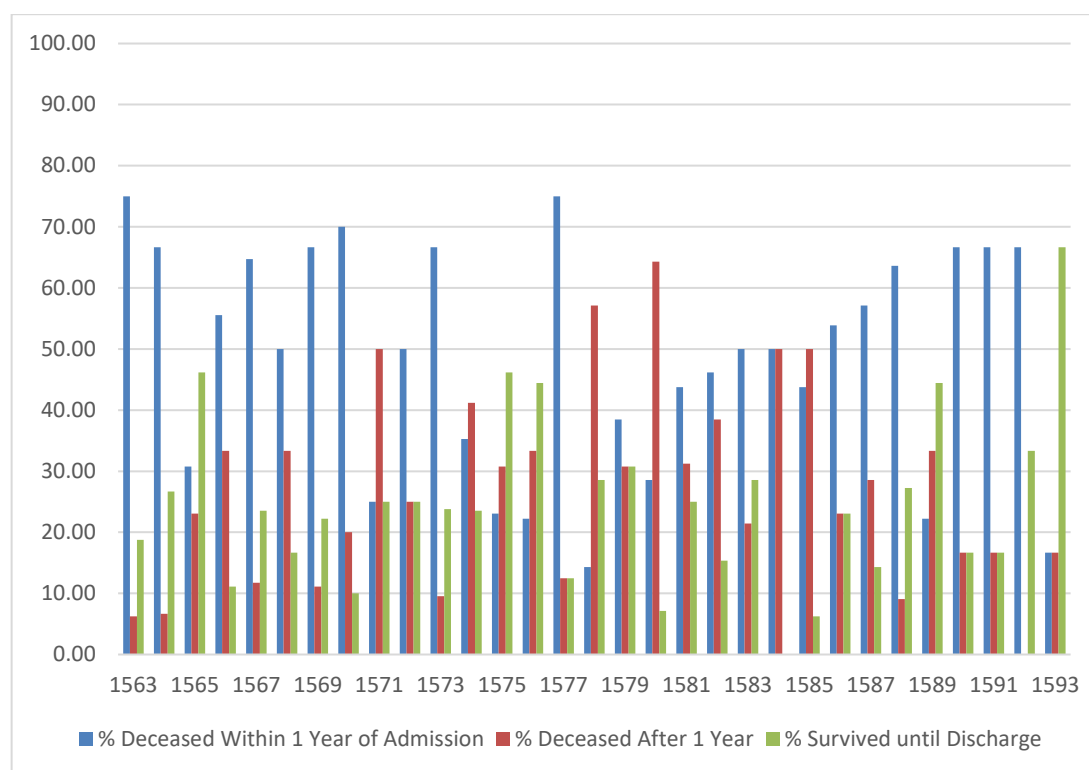


Figure 4-13: Mortality rates for children admitted below the age of one 1563-93

Date	Total number	Deceased within 1 Year %	Deceased after 1 Year %	Survived until Discharge %
1563	16	75.00	6.25	18.75
1564	15	66.67	6.67	26.67
1565	13	30.77	23.08	46.15
1566	9	55.56	33.33	11.11
1567	17	64.71	11.76	23.53
1568	6	50.00	33.33	16.67

¹³⁸ Levene, *Childcare*, p. 81

1569	9	66.67	11.11	22.22
1570	10	70.00	20.00	10.00
1571	8	25.00	50.00	25.00
1572	16	50.00	25.00	25.00
1573	21	66.67	9.52	23.81
1574	17	35.29	41.18	23.53
1575	13	23.08	30.77	46.15
1576	9	22.22	33.33	44.44
1577	8	75.00	12.50	12.50
1578	7	14.29	57.14	28.57
1579	13	38.46	30.77	30.77
1580	14	28.57	64.29	7.14
1581	16	43.75	31.25	25
1582	13	46.15	38.46	15.38
1583	14	50.00	21.43	28.57
1584	18	50.00	50.00	0.00
1585	16	43.75	50.00	6.25
1586	13	53.85	23.08	23.08
1587	7	57.14	28.57	14.29
1588	11	63.64	9.09	27.27
1589	9	22.22	33.33	44.44
1590	18	66.67	16.67	16.67
1591	6	66.67	16.67	16.67
1592	3	66.67	0.00	33.33
1593	6	16.67	16.67	66.67

Figure 4-14: Ratio of mortality and survival to discharge of children admitted below the age of one 1617-64 (n=90)

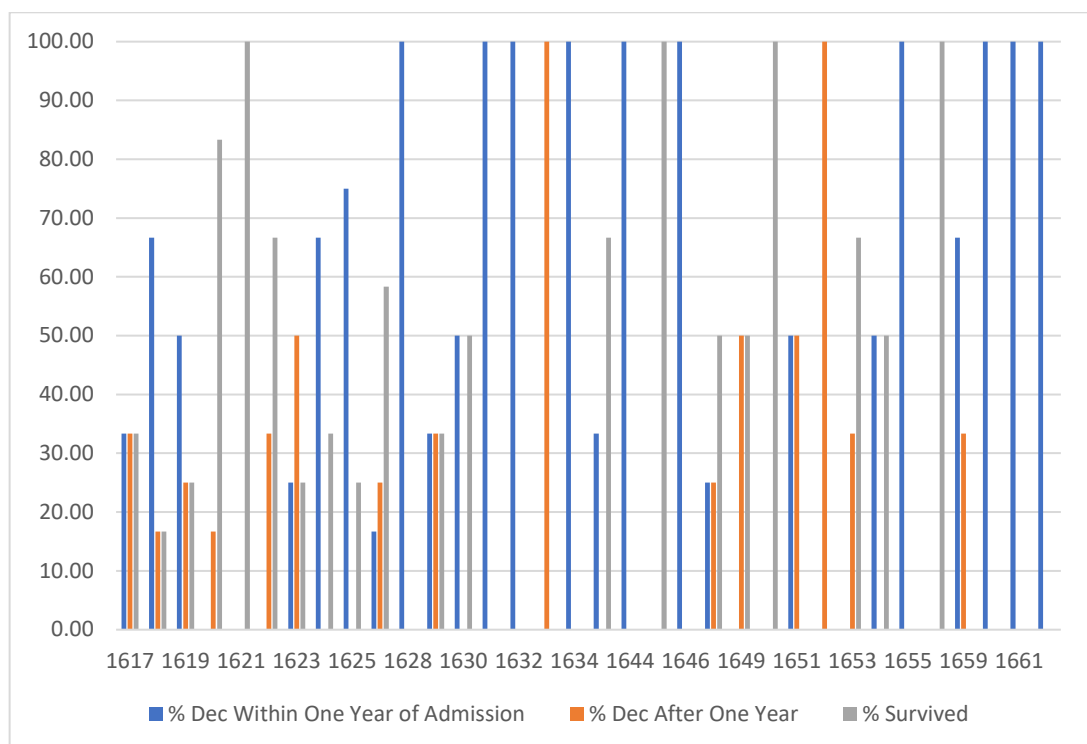


Figure 4-15: Mortality rates for children admitted below the age of one 1617-66

Date	Deceased Within 1 Year %	Deceased After 1 Year %	Survived until Discharge %	Total Number of Admissions
1617	33.33	33.33	33.33	3
1618	66.67	16.67	16.67	6
1619	50.00	25.00	25.00	4
1620	0.00	16.67	83.33	6
1621	0.00	0.00	100	1
1622	0.00	33.33	66.67	3
1623	25.00	50.00	25.00	4
1624	66.67	0.00	33.33	3
1625	75.00	0.00	25.00	4
1626	16.67	25.00	58.33	12
1628	100	0.00	0.00	2
1629	33.33	33.33	33.33	3

1630	50.00	0.00	50.00	2
1631	100	0.00	0.00	1
1632	100	0.00	0.00	2
1633	0.00	100	0.00	1
1634	100	0.00	0.00	2
1635	33.33	0.00	66.67	3
1644	100	0.00	0.00	1
1645	0.00	0.00	100	1
1646	100	0.00	0.00	1
1648	25.00	25.00	50.00	4
1649	0.00	50.00	50.00	2
1650	0.00	0.00	100	1
1651	50.00	50.00	0.00	2
1652	0.00	100	0.00	1
1653	0.00	33.33	66.67	3
1654	50.00	0.00	50.00	2
1655	100	0.00	0.00	1
1656	0.00	0.00	100	1
1659	66.67	33.33	0.00	3
1660	100	0.00	0.00	2
1661	100	0.00	0.00	2
1664	100	0.00	0.00	1

Figure 4-16 shows the average age on death in the sickward, at nurse and with the mother for the period 1563-93. The average age on death for the whole period (excluding the years 1594-1616) was 11.3 in the sickward, 8.02 with the mother and 4.78 at nurse. As most of the younger children were placed with a nurse or remained with their mother, it is unsurprising that the average age of death in the sickward was higher. Figure 4-17 shows the same information for the period 1617-69 but a caveat must be noted for this period. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the number of

children recorded as being sent to nurse decreased markedly in the seventeenth century, and for a number of years no children are recorded as dying at nurse. The higher age of death at nurse in the later years of the graph is also potentially misleading, as the number of children recorded was very low. In some years only one death was recorded at nurse: in 1666 the average age at death appears to be fourteen but there was only this one death at nurse in this year.

Figure 4-16: Average age on death in sickward, with nurse and with mother 1563-93 (n=666)

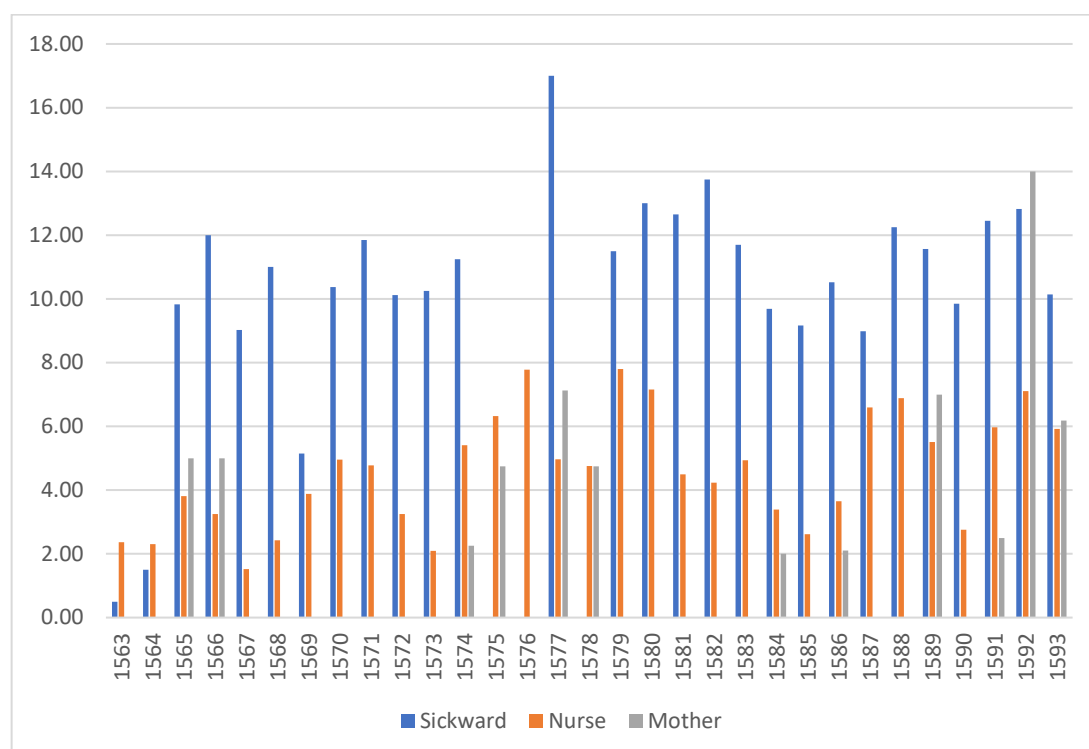
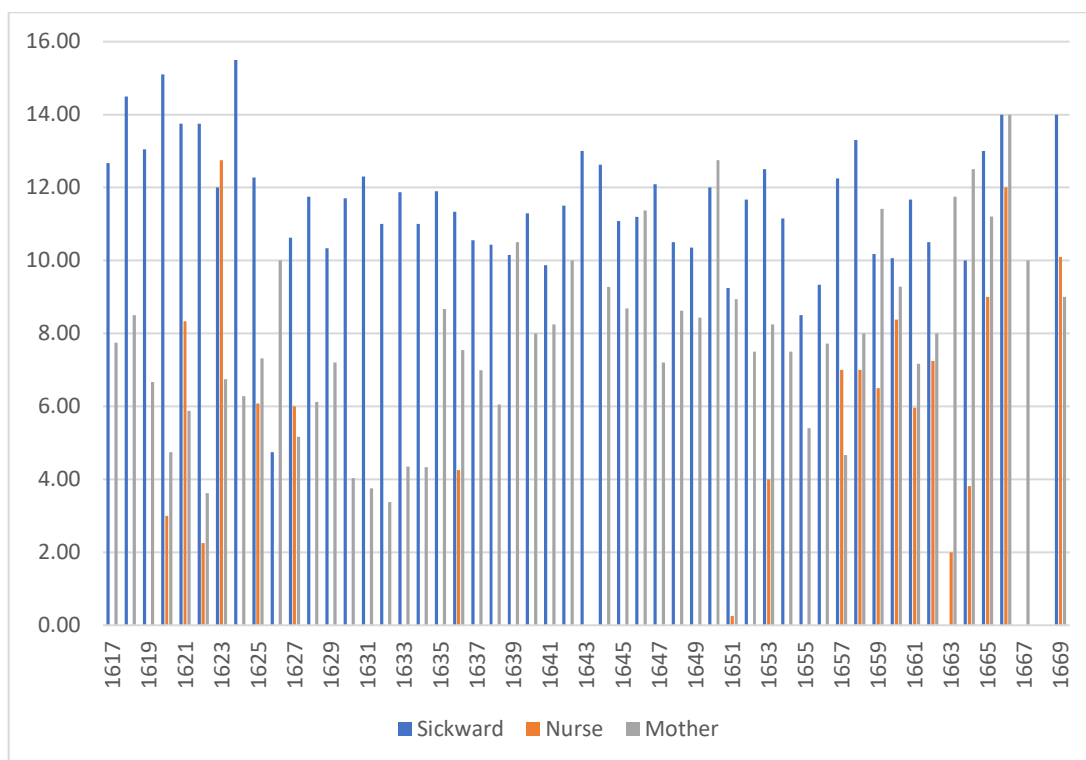
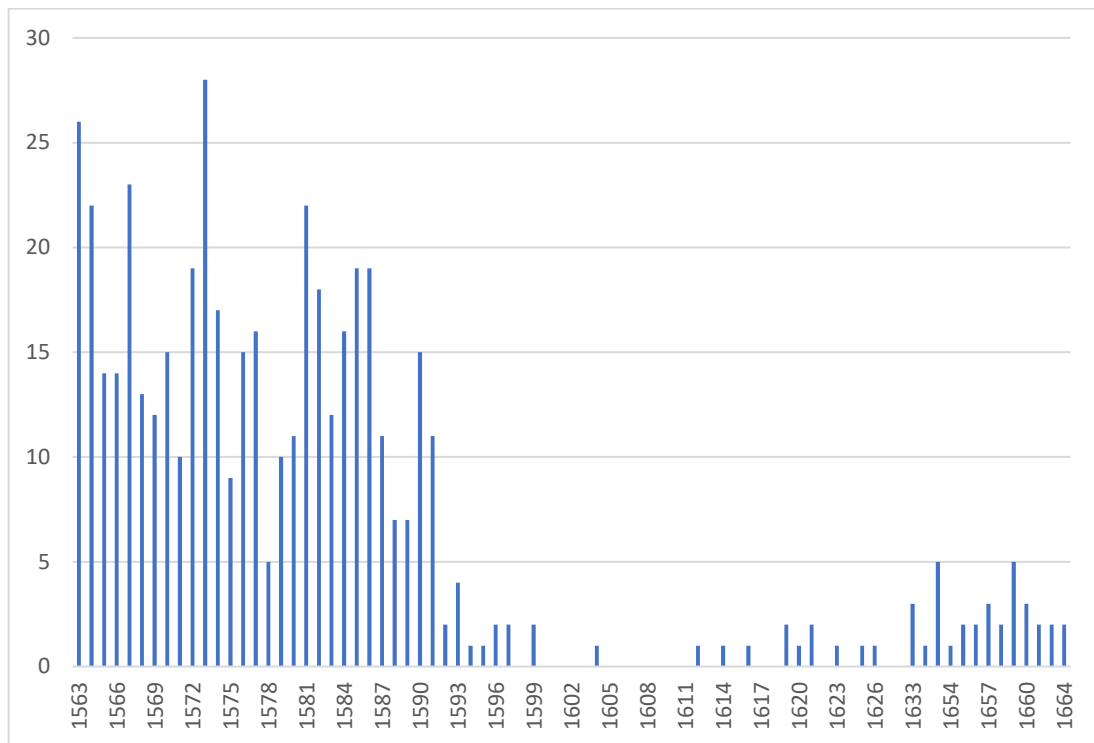


Figure 4-17: Average age of death in sickward, with nurse and with mother 1617-1669 (n=779)



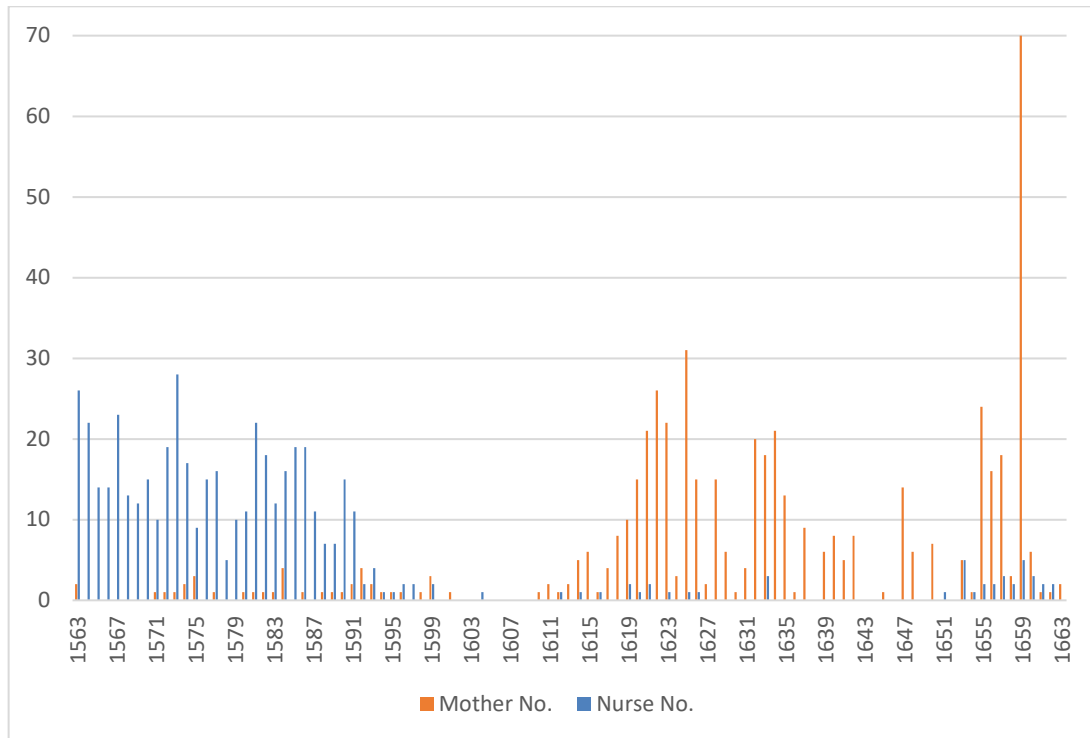
The locations of the children at the time of death are specified in some discharge entries, either at nurse, with family, or in the sick ward of the hospital, although it is difficult to draw meaningful conclusions from simply knowing the location where a child died. A simple count of deaths of children at nurse shows the number of deaths declining sharply from 1594, as shown in Figure 4-18, although the caveats about the data, discussed above, must be borne in mind.

Figure 4-18: Children deceased at nurse by admission year 1563-1664 (n=495)



This apparent improvement is extremely misleading, however: as discussed elsewhere the hospital apparently stopped recording children sent to nurse in 1591/2, meaning that thereafter the only way of assessing the number of children at nurse is through the numbers who are recorded as having died at nurse. If we include children recorded as dying with their mother, as shown in Figure 4-19, the data shows a corresponding increase in deaths with the mother in the seventeenth century, possibly indicating a deliberate change in policy by the hospital, or alternatively that the entries were becoming more accurate and the hospital was differentiating between mothers acting as nurses and non-familial nurses in a more precise way

Figure 4-19: Children deceased at nurse and with the mother by admission year 1563-1665 (n=1,021)



Gillian Clark has noted the apparent absence of Christ's Hospital nurse children from the burial records of Berkshire: she was only able to find four parish entries out of 8,196 entries examined and she was unable to link any of these with the hospital records. One of the children that she was unable to reconcile was a burial of a child at White Waltham in 1586 entered as 'My Dunstable, an hospital child of London'.¹³⁹ This is undoubtedly Mary Dunstone who was admitted to the hospital 27 November 1585 aged 9 months and died at nurse with Maudline Marshall of Bray in Berkshire, which is only a few miles away from White Waltham, 11 June 1586.¹⁴⁰ I have found only one other parish record that refers to the hospital. A burial entry from St. Giles Cripplegate dated 2 November 1582 records the burial of 'Barbara Bennett a childe of the hospitall', who in the hospital record is recorded as dying at nurse with Elizabeth Burge of St. Giles.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Clark, *Nurse Children*, p. 240.

¹⁴⁰ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 196.

¹⁴¹ L.M.A. P69/GIS/A/002/MS06419/001, *Register General, St. Giles Cripplegate*, f. 72; Allan, *Admissions*, p. 172.

There is a difficulty in correlating hospital records of children dying at nurse with parish burial records as it is often not clear in which parish the child died. Children were routinely moved from one nurse to another, often in different counties, and these changes of nurse were often not recorded, meaning that it is difficult to locate the parish where the child died. I found 214 children in the Christ's Hospital registers recorded as having died at nurse with enough information to be able to potentially identify them in parish records, such as location of nurse, father's name and livery company. Of these 185 were admitted between 1563 and 1599 and 29 between 1600 and 1666. A search of parish records on Ancestry.com using the search term 'England' in the location field for these children yielded only nine burial records that I could be reasonably confident were children of the hospital. Three were in St. Giles Cripplegate, one at All Hallows the Less, one in St. Botolph Aldgate, one at All Saints, Edmonton, two at St. John the Baptist Hillingdon, and one in St. Giles in the Fields Holborn. The children buried in Hillingdon, Alice May and Joanne Carr, were both described as 'a stranger'.¹⁴² One of the children was a foundling, admitted on 5 September 1567: 'Peter Dennis, a foundling laid at the door of one Ralph Gytte stranger in Lime Street the 29 of June (St. Dennis). September 13, to Marian Ware of Little All Hallows.' The date of death is recorded as 13 March 1567/8, but the burial is dated 12 March 1567/8 at All Hallows the Less.¹⁴³ William Brandone was admitted in 1599 from St. Mary Somerset parish and described as the son of Nicholas, Brewer. According to the discharge entry he died on 17 July 1603 'in the city with his nurse Joan Moulton of Golding Lane', and there is a corresponding entry from St. Giles Cripplegate, which records the burial on the same date of 'William sonne of Nicholas Brandynon brewer'.¹⁴⁴

As already stated for children dying at nurse it is not clear if the date entered in the children's register is the actual date of death, or the date when the information was received by the hospital. It can be assumed that in order to avoid paying for a child no longer living that the hospital would require accurate record-keeping, and there is little evidence of nurses deliberately withholding information on a child's death in

¹⁴² Allan, *Admissions*, p. 104, 99; L.M.A., DRO/110/001, *Composite register St. John the Baptist, Hillingdon*, Alyse May 5 July 1572, Joane Carr, 23 January 1577.

¹⁴³ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 79; L.M.A., P69/ALH8/A/001/MS05160/001, *Register of burials 1558-1654, All Hallows the Less*, Peter Denny, 12 March 1567.

¹⁴⁴ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 263; L.M.A., P69/GIS/A/002/MS06419/001, *Register General, St. Giles Cripplegate*, f. 192v.

order to continue claiming payment, but there are some cases. Gillian Clark has found one example of a discrepancy in the date of death between the hospital record and the parish burial register of Waltham St. Lawrence where the child was at nurse. According to the parish register, Thomas Cloister was buried on 7 December 1566, whilst the hospital dates his death a week later on 14 December. It is unclear whether the discrepancy is due to the nurse claiming an extra week's pay for the boy, or whether it was due to a delay in the news reaching London.¹⁴⁵ In 1565 the discharge entry for Margaret Griffin records that 'this child died 45 weeks since and the nurse restored back the money'.¹⁴⁶ There are also several examples of inaccurate dates of death involving children at nurse with parents, including some examples of outright fraud. The 1574 discharge entry for Robert Dedicote states that 'this child died with his mother being the nurse long since and which she concealed until now that the trial was found',¹⁴⁷ while in 1633 the entry for James Jones records: 'having been dead about 3 years since with his parents and they have been punished having received money and clothes for another of their children who used the name of James Jones but in fact was John Jones'.¹⁴⁸ In 1666 Thomas Woodward was 'supposed to be dead last year with the parents',¹⁴⁹ and an entry in April of the same year stated that Robert Bateman was 'supposed to have dyed in the last year of sickness 1665 with the mother'.¹⁵⁰

There is no information available on the causes of death in the sickward apart from some occasional references in the court minute books to plague deaths, discussed below. The number of deaths in the sickward was approximately half that of children who died with family or at nurse.

Figure 4-20: Location of deaths

Dates	Family	Nurse	Sickward
1563-99	31	429	220
1600-69	526	49	265

¹⁴⁵ Clark, *Nurse Children*, p. 241.

¹⁴⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 54.

¹⁴⁷ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 114.

¹⁴⁸ C.R., vol. 4, f. 75.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, vol. 4, f. 77.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, vol. 4, f. 10.

Figure 4-21 shows the number of deaths in the sickward each year. The graph shows spikes in mortality rates, some corresponding to plague years and some not. However, there are also some years in which it would be expected that there would be higher mortality. In 1563 for example there was a plague epidemic and a total of twenty-seven deaths were recorded for the year, yet the data shows only one sickward death for that year. Eleven of these were at nurse and fourteen do not have a place of death recorded but it is highly likely that a proportion of those were in the sickward.

Figure 4-21: Deaths in sickward 1563-93 and 1617-69 (n=477)

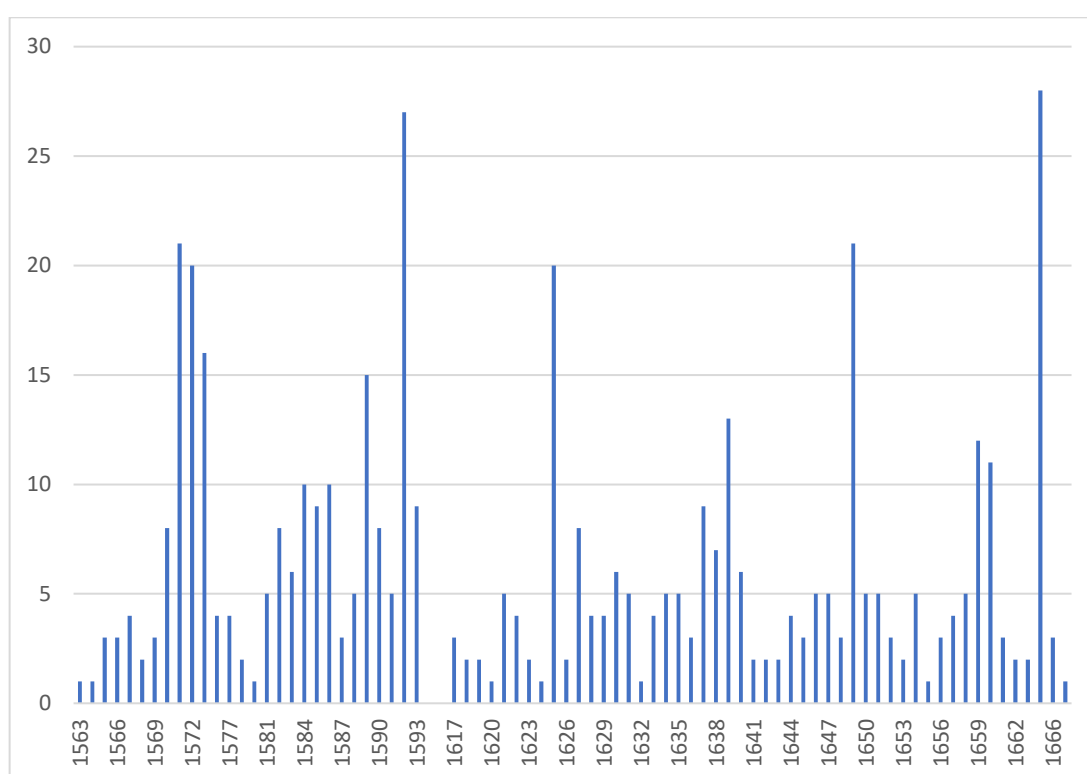


Figure 4-22: Age on death in sickward 1563-1593 (n=213)

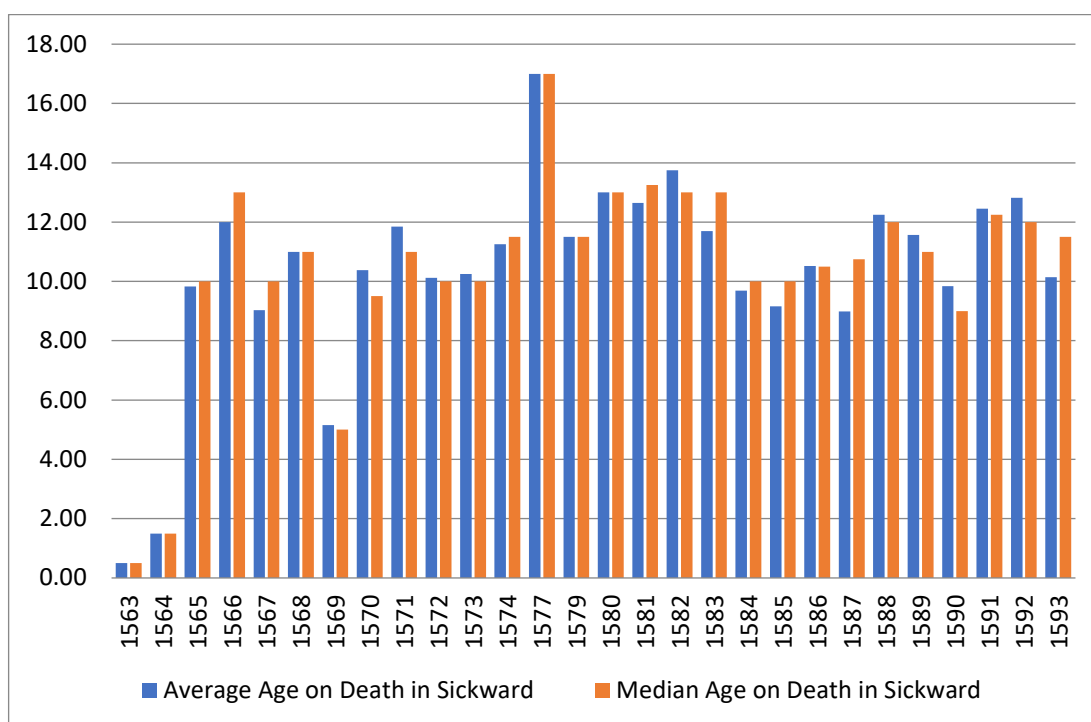
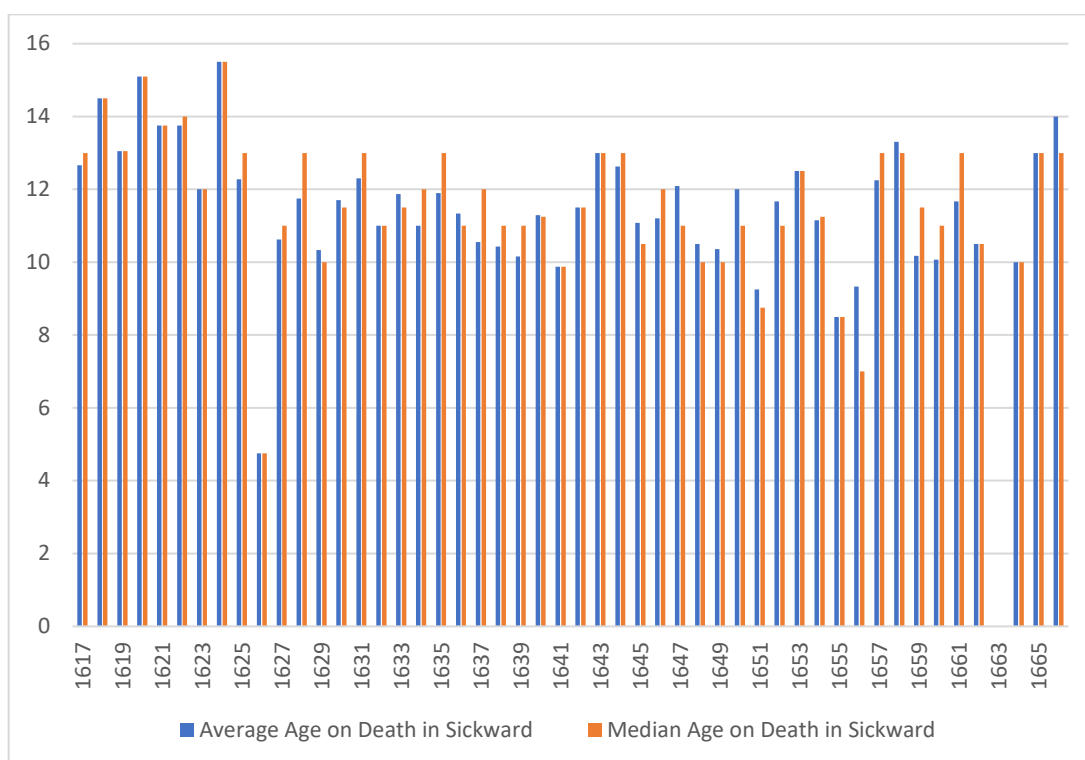


Figure 4-23: Age on death in sickward 1617-1666 (n=263)



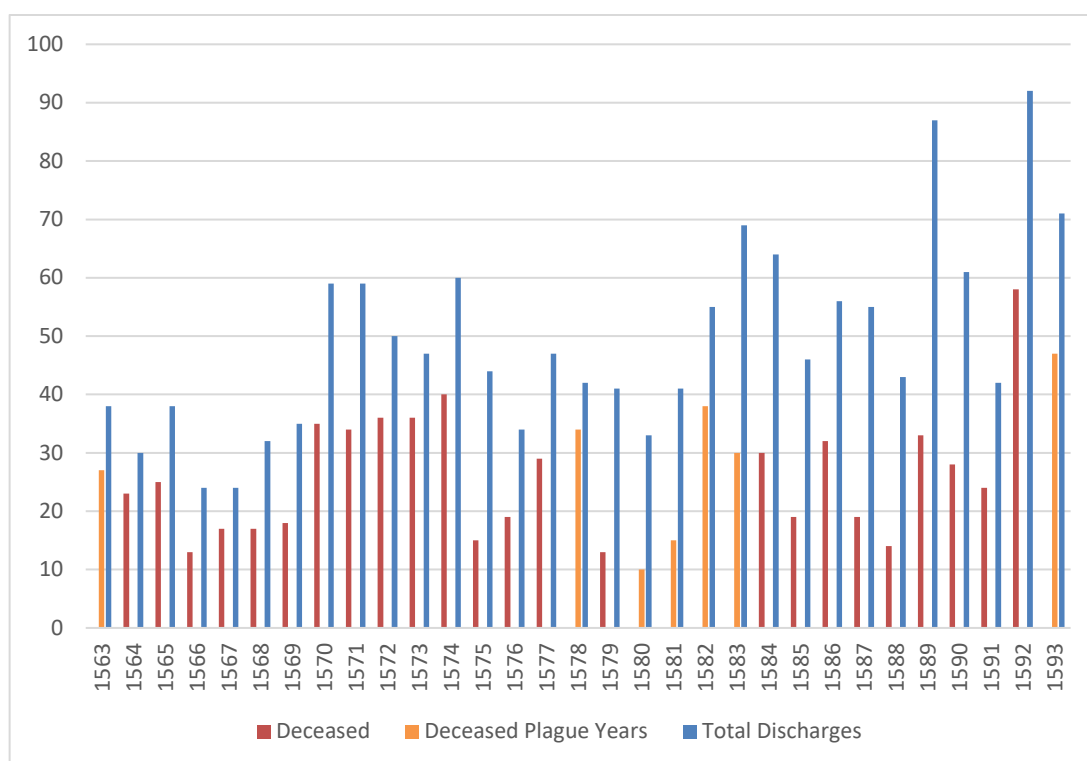
Roger Finlay has asserted that ‘children appear to be especially susceptible to plague compared to adults’,¹⁵¹ and it would therefore follow that mortality rates during

¹⁵¹ Finlay, *Population*, p. 123.

times of plague would increase amongst the hospital children, and the impact of plague in the city must be considered in relation to mortality in the hospital.

John Graunt identified ‘four Times of great Mortality’: 1592/93, 1603, 1625 and 1636. He also noted that the plague of 1603 lasted eight years and the 1636 outbreak lasted twelve years.¹⁵² There were also outbreaks in 1563, 1578 and the early 1580s.¹⁵³ It is not possible to see how many deaths were directly attributable to the plague, but by comparing levels of mortality during plague years to other years it is possible to give an indication of the impact that plague had on the hospital. Figures 4-24 and 4-25 show mortality rates for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with plague years highlighted, and Figure 4-26 shows the ratio of deaths with plague years highlighted for the 1563-93 and 1619-1670 combined.

Figure 4-24: Mortality by discharge year 1563-93 (n=1519)



¹⁵² Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations*, pp. 46-50.

¹⁵³ Harding, *Plague*, p. 47.

Figure 4-25: Mortality by discharge year 1617-70 (n=4588)

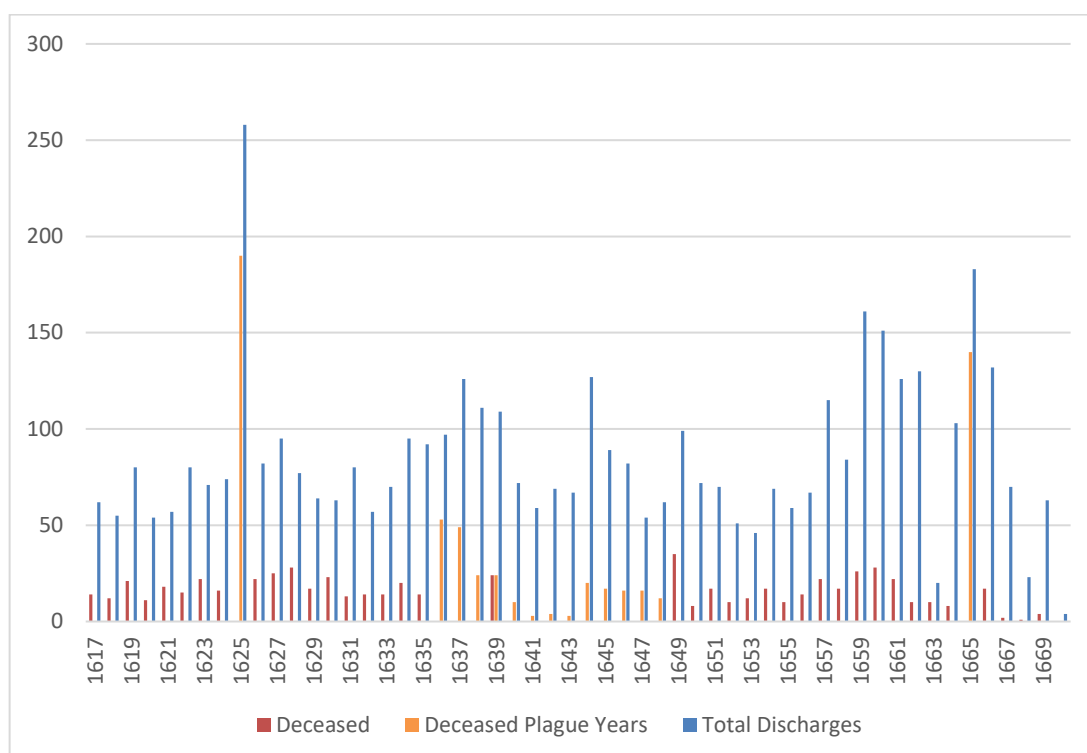
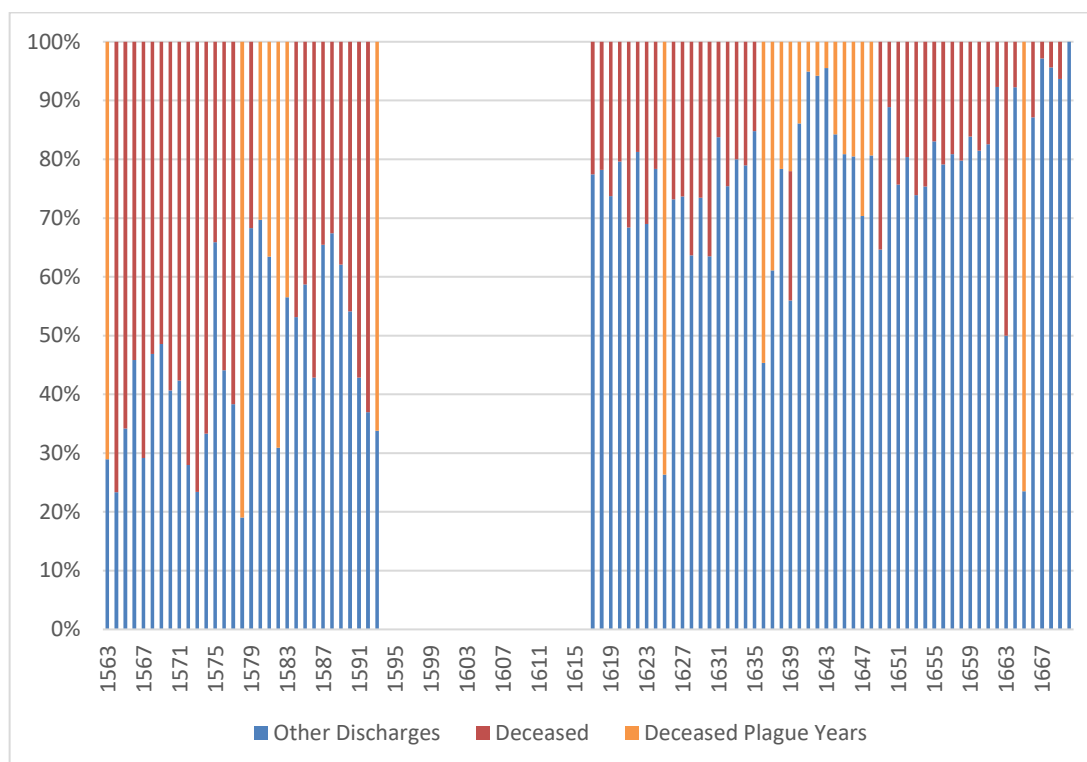


Figure 4-26: Ratio of deaths to other discharges 1563-93 and 1617-70 with plague years highlighted (n=6107)



Neil Cummins, Morgan Kelly and Cormac O' Grada have shown that the years 1563, 1603, 1625 and 1665 saw plague epidemics in London 'of roughly equal magnitude',

and a burial rate of five-and-a-half to six times the average of preceding years.¹⁵⁴ The number of deaths at Christ's Hospital in these years does not appear to match this, with twenty-seven deaths in 1563, compared with 190 in 1625 and 140 in 1665. There were eighteen deaths recorded in 1603 but due to the likely under-recording of deaths during that period, as discussed earlier, this number is probably not accurate, so no conclusions can be drawn about the effects of plague for that year. Although the number of recorded deaths in 1563 was not particularly high, they did account for 71 per cent of total discharges. Deaths also accounted for 73 per cent of all discharges in 1625 and 75 per cent in 1665. The years 1625 and 1665 show the highest number of deaths, 190 in 1625, and 140 in 1666. Although the number of deaths was relatively small in 1578, at thirty-four, this accounted for just over 80 per cent of discharges, the highest proportion of any year. The plague outbreak in 1636 saw thirty-six deaths, increasing to forty-nine the following year before falling over the rest of the decade and dropping to a low of three in 1641, before rising again in 1644 to reach sixteen deaths in 1647 and then falling again.

Figures 4-27 and 4-28 show the mortality during plague years compared with the average for the five-year period either immediately preceding or following, according to the availability of data.

¹⁵⁴ Neil Cummins, Morgan Kelly and Cormac O' Grada, 'Living standards and Plague in London, 1560-1665', *The Economic History Review*, 69.1 (2016), p. 4.

Figure 4-27: Comparison of mortality in plague years and five-year average of preceding or following years (n=2,131)

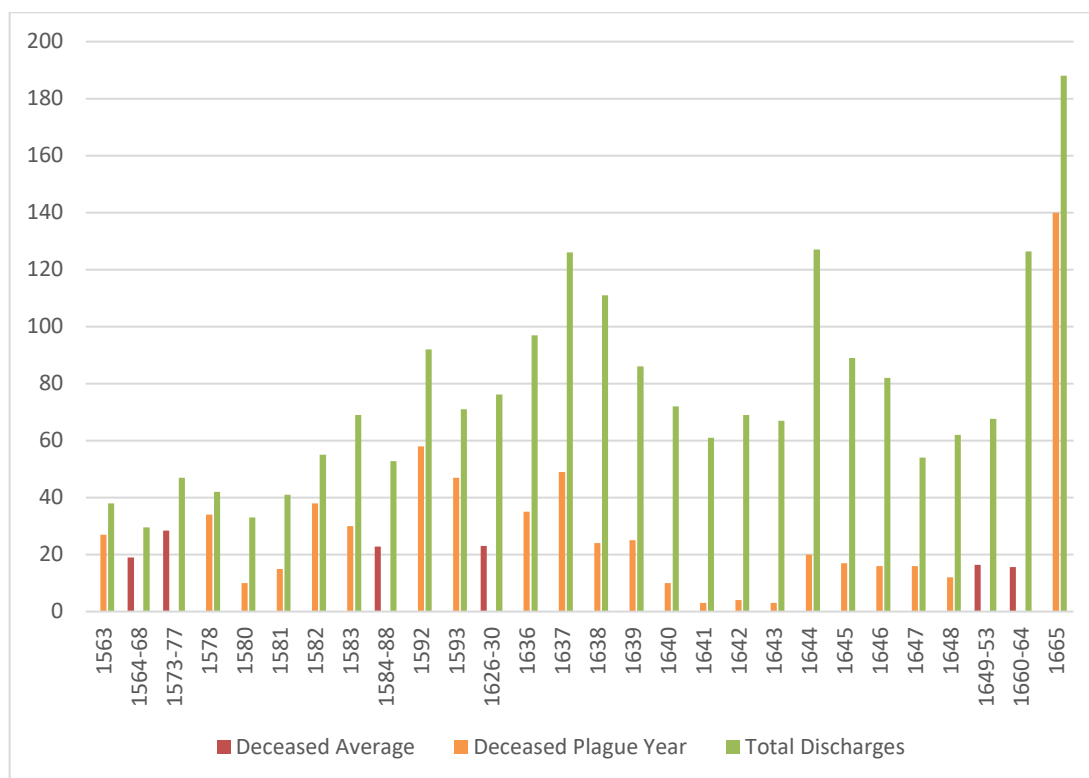
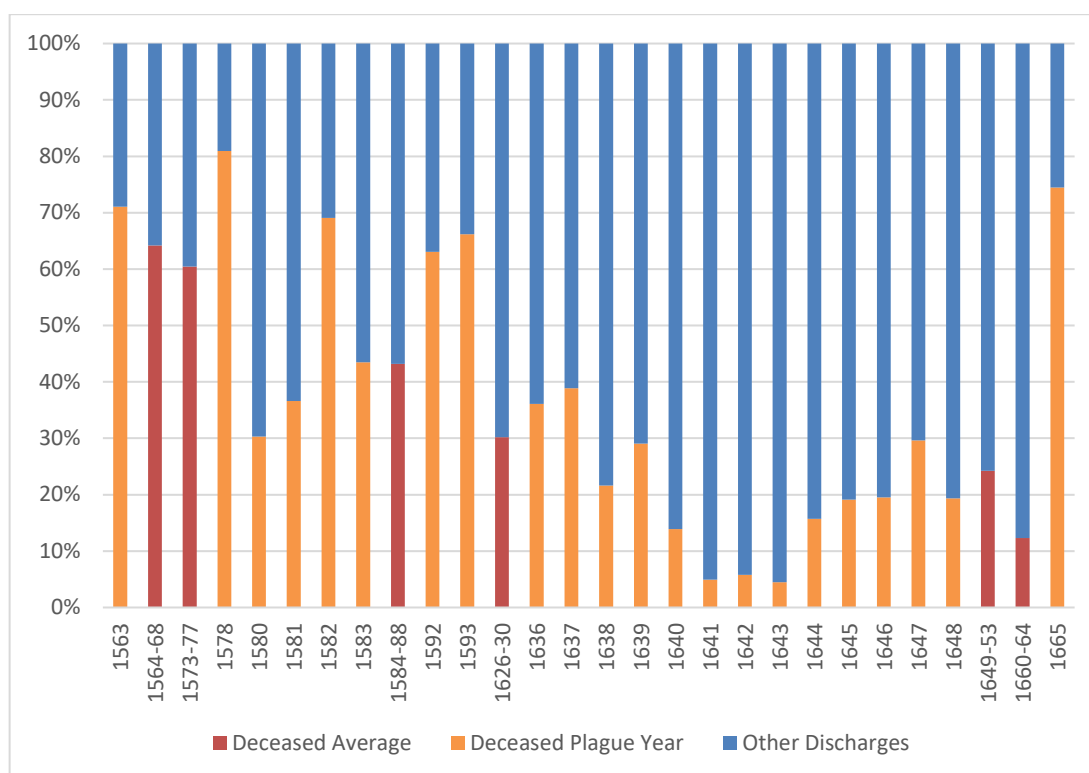


Figure 4-28: Comparison of mortality in plague years and five-year average of preceding or following years (n=2,131)

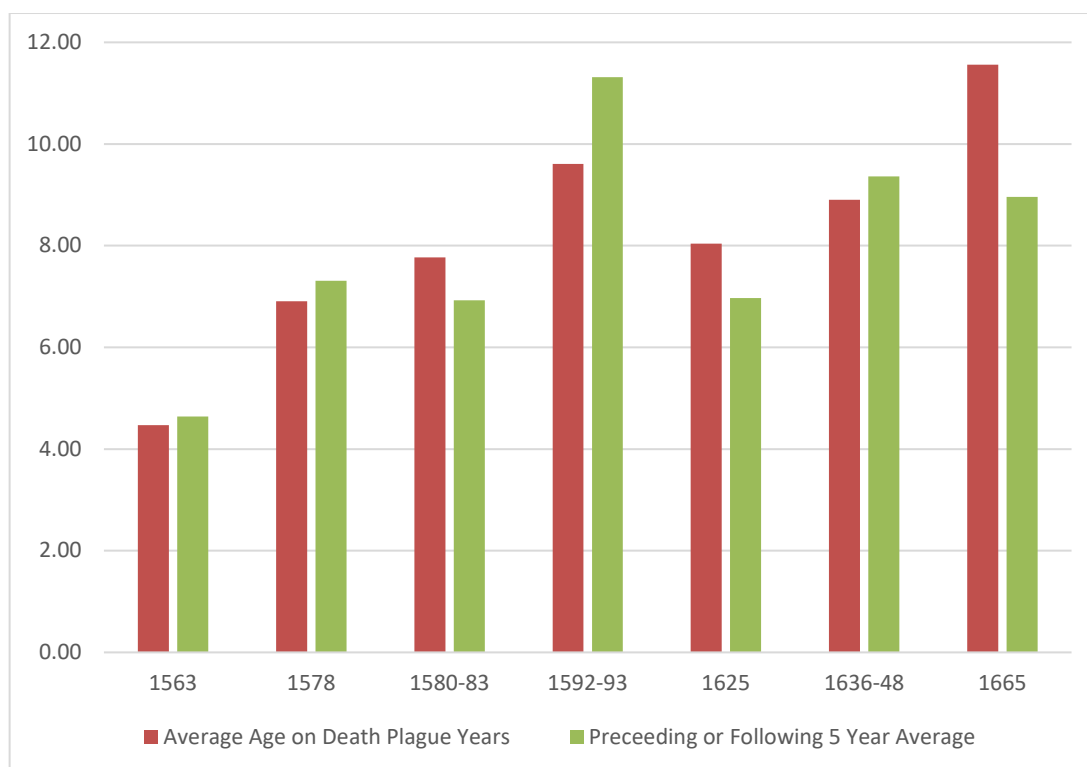


The ratio of mortality in plague years compared with the years preceding or following changes significantly over the period shown. In 1563, 71 per cent of discharges were deaths, compared with the following five years, in which the deaths averaged 64 per cent of all discharges, a difference of only 7 per cent, which rises to a 20 per cent difference between the 1578 plague and the preceding five-year period. For the plague of 1625 there is a 43 per cent difference compared with the following five years, and the 1665 plague increased mortality compared to overall discharges by 60 per cent compared to the period 1660-64. I have discussed earlier in this chapter the finding that mortality rates were higher between 1563-90, owing at least partially to the higher number of infants that were admitted, and the higher mortality associated with that age group. In the five-year period 1563-67, out of a total of 442 admissions, seventy-five were under the age of one, which is 17 per cent. For the period 1655-59 there was a total of 916 admissions and only nine of the children were aged under one year, just less than 1 per cent. Mary and T.H. Hollingsworth suggested that the deaths of children and adolescents between the ages of seven and twenty increased dramatically during plague years.¹⁵⁵ The data from Christ's Hospital shows the average age on death for most plague years was at the lower end of the Hollingsworths' estimates. In 1563 it was well below it at 4.47, and the highest average age on death was in 1665, when it was 11.56. It might also be expected that

¹⁵⁵ Mary Hollingsworth and T.H. Hollingsworth, 'Plague Mortality Rates by Age and Sex in the Parish of St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate, London, 1603', *Population Studies*, 25.1 (1971), p. 135.

the average mortality age would be higher during plague years, but apart from 1665 this is not the case.

Figure 4-29: Average age on death in plague years and non-plague years

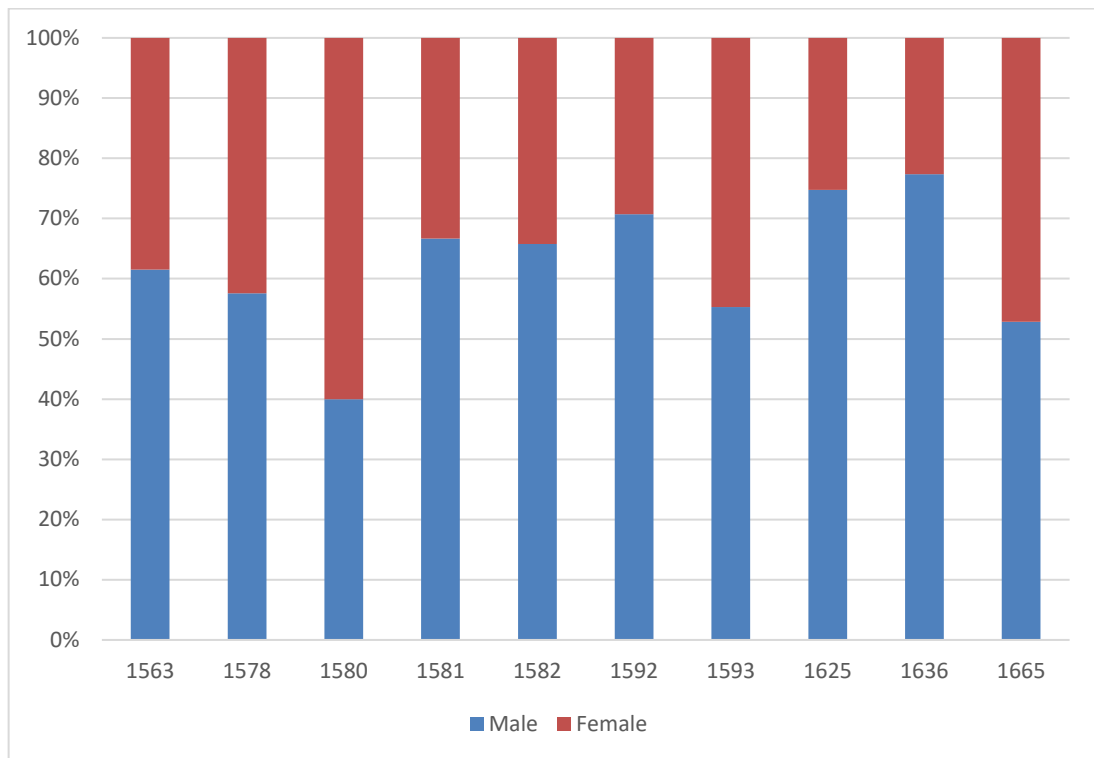


The Hollingsworths also found that male mortality was significantly higher than female mortality in St. Botolph Bishopsgate during the 1603 epidemic.¹⁵⁶ Finlay however found the opposite in the same year in All Hallows Bread Street, with female mortality higher than male, but in 1593 the reverse was true, leading him to conclude that the ‘study of differential plague mortality between males and females is therefore exceptionally difficult and little sense can be made of it’.¹⁵⁷ The gender differences in mortality at Christ’s Hospital during plague years supports this, as shown in Figure 4-30.

¹⁵⁶ Hollingsworth, *Mortality*, p. 145.

¹⁵⁷ Finlay, *Population*, p. 131.

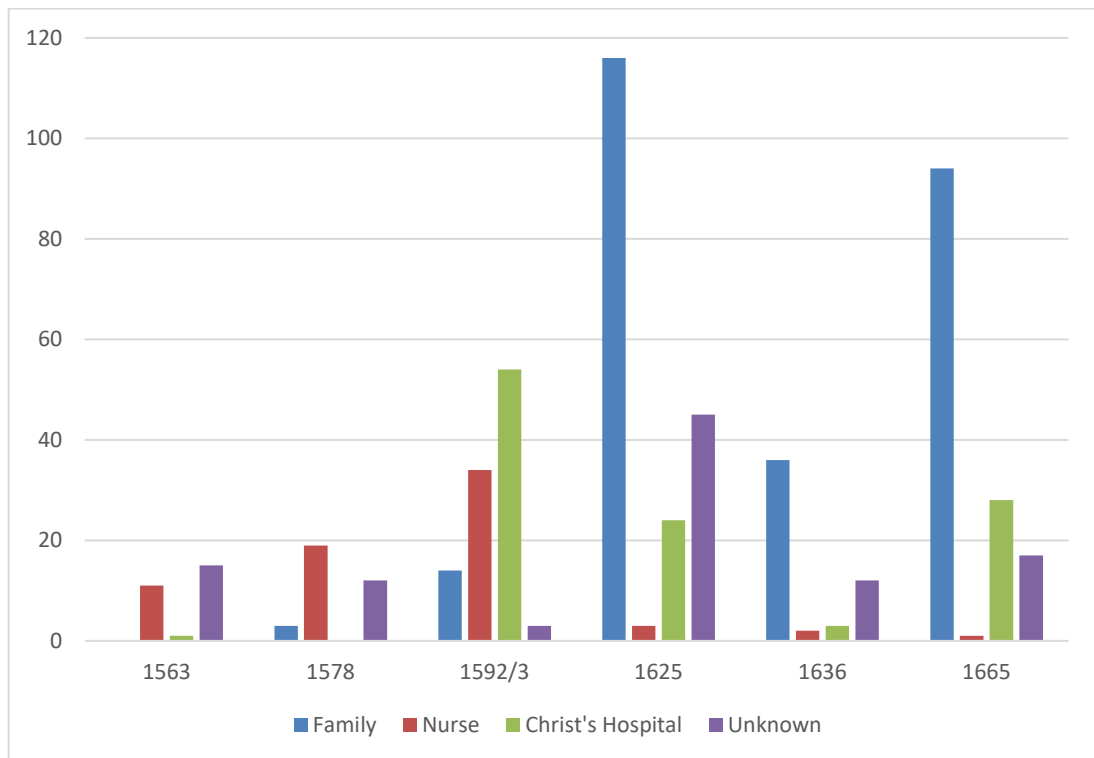
Figure 4-30: Mortality in Plague Years by Gender (n=618)



The gender difference in admissions to the hospital ranges between 61:39 male to female in the 1560s to 75:25 during the 1660s. The ratio between male and female deaths in 1563 almost exactly matches the admission ratio for that period, indicating that there was no gender difference in plague mortality. However, in 1580 the mortality ratio was 40:60 male to female, at a time when the admission ratio for that period was 60:40. In 1665 the mortality ratio was 51:49 male to female, whereas the admission ratio was 75:25.

Most deaths of admitted children during plague years occurred outside the main hospital, occurring primarily at home with family as shown in Figure 4.31.

Figure 4-31: Location of deaths in plague years (n=565)



Only in the 1592/3 outbreak were there more deaths inside the hospital than outside, and of these eighteen were described as in the nursery and thirty-six in the sickward. I take nursery to mean one of the main wards, which indicates that the capacity of the sickward was limited.

It would seem likely that the hospital would quarantine sick children, so it may be that another part of the hospital was re-purposed at times of high sickness rates. It is impossible to calculate whether children had a better chance of survival in the main hospital rather than outside with a nurse or family as although the total population of the hospital is known for some years it is not known how many children were at nurse outside London, and how many children were located within the hospital itself. There is however one entry in the court minute books dated 12 December 1665 reporting that thirty-two children had died out of 260 in the house, although it describes them as ‘dead of all diseases’, not just the plague.¹⁵⁸ As noted in section 4.3 ex-gratia payments totalling £40 were made to staff of the hospital in recognition that ‘during all this time of sickness and mortalitie they have been resident and carefull in the faithfull discharge of their severall offices and places and had therin

¹⁵⁸ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 207.

been exercised with extraordinary paines and trouble about the poore children of this Hospitall’.

In July 1603 the court heard that ‘the infection of the plague doth greatly increase and many children of poore men in most partes of this city, dwelling as well in the parishes that are infected as in the parishes that are not, come to this house to schoole and are heer taught, which is very daungerous to the children, which praised be to God are yet in good health’.¹⁵⁹ The order was given that the schools should be ‘dissolued until it shall please God the infeccion doe cease or otherwise until Michaelmas next’.¹⁶⁰ They did not succeed in completely keeping plague out of the hospital, as William Martin the surgeon was paid a gratuity of £3 ‘for his great paines that hath bin visited with the plague’¹⁶¹. The deaths in 1603 accounted for 43 per cent of all discharges, which is considerably less than in other plague years. The school was also quarantined in 1581, when instructions were given that no children were to be brought up from the country and the children already in the hospital were prohibited from going out into the city. Similarly, city children were prohibited from coming in to the schools.

The burial location of children who died is unclear. Pearce implies that some children were buried within the precincts of the hospital, as in November 1729 instructions were given that: ‘A view be taken with workmen of the sickward and Church yard belonging to this Hopitall, it being apprehended that Burial of the Dead near the Foundation hath prejudiced the said building.’¹⁶² The sexton of Christ Church was also paid a fee of 20s per year to dig graves for children as necessary,¹⁶³ but I have not been able to find any registers of children buried within the hospital. It seems likely that any burials taking place within the hospital were of those children who died in the sickward and for whom there was no other appropriate place.

There is some evidence that children who died with parents were buried in the parish of their parents by their parents. Margaret Johnson, the daughter of William, a clothworker from St. Giles Cripplegate parish, died with her mother on 18 September

¹⁵⁹ C.M.B., vol. 5, pp. 206-7.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 207.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Pearce, *Annals*, p. 56.

¹⁶³ Ibid, p. 198.

1639. The burial was recorded at St. Giles Cripplegate of ‘Margaret daughter of William Johnson clothworker’, on the same date 18 September.¹⁶⁴ George Hilton was admitted from St. Botolph Bishopsgate aged fifteen months 16 April 1614. He died with his mother 25 July 1625 and is recorded as being buried in St. Botolph Bishopsgate on the same day.¹⁶⁵ From this it seems likely that children were predominantly buried in the parish of their parents, if their parents were still alive.

It is possible that the burial location of children who were not buried by parents was likely to have been the New Churchyard which was the burial location for many of the city’s poor, although I have not been able to find any evidence to support that.¹⁶⁶ It is unclear what arrangements were made for payments for burials by the hospital as the treasurers’ account books do not list any payments for burial of the children, although it is possible that they were included in the ‘necessaries’ category. Vanessa Harding has shown that at the New Churchyard burials for some poor were recorded as ‘no duties’ or ‘duties remitted’ so it is also possible that burial fees were waived.¹⁶⁷

4.5 Conclusion

The mortality data presented in this chapter illustrates the difficulty in accurately assessing the survival chances of children admitted to the hospital. Depending on the data selected, mortality can be presented as being either appallingly high, or very good. The conclusions can be drawn however that survival chances improved in the seventeenth century, and that the older the age on admission the better the chances of surviving to discharge age. It seems clear that Christ’s Hospital took the physical care of the children seriously. In a period in which the medical landscape was littered with unqualified practitioners and quacks the surgeons and physicians that ministered to the children’s health were often eminent in their fields, although the extent of their practical involvement was probably limited. The hospital was a highly visible

¹⁶⁴ L.M.A., P69/GIS/A/002/MS06419/003, *Register General, St. Giles Cripplegate*, Margaret Johnson, 18 September 1639.

¹⁶⁵ L.M.A. P69/BOT4/A/001/MS04515/001, *Composite register, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, 1558-1628*, George Hilton, 25 July 1625.

¹⁶⁶ Vanessa Harding, “‘And one more may be laid there’: the Location of Burials in Early Modern London”, *The London Journal* 14.2 (1989) p. 123.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

symbol of the City's commitment to the care of poor children and the medical care provided reflected this.

Chapter 5 Discharges and destinations: life after Christ's Hospital

5.1 Introduction

The overarching purpose of Christ's Hospital was to create children who could become useful and self-sufficient members of society. *The Indenture of covenants between King Edward VI and the City* states that: 'Neither the childe in his infansie shall wante vertuous educacion and bringing up, neither when the same shall growe unto full age shall lack matter whereon the same maye virtuously occupie him sealf in good occupacion or science profitable to the comon weale.'¹ The positive outcome that admission to Christ's Hospital could have is exemplified by the case of Thomas Colfe, a boy of seven years old, 'born at Callis taken up in the streets and sent in to this House by the Lord Mayor' on 30 October 1563. He was discharged on 6 December 1572 and apprenticed to John Jackson, founder, for seven years. The apprenticeship was not a success and he was readmitted a few months later on 6 February 1573/4 from 'Jervis a singing man to continue one year'. It is not clear what was being continued, but in 1578 he was sent to Oxford with an exhibition from the Salters Company.² He received a B.A. from St. Mary's Hall on 22 February 1581/2, and an M.A. from Broadgates Hall on 2 June 1584; he was made rector of St. Mary Bothaw in 1589, and vicar of Burford in 1600.³ By examining the discharge records of the hospital, this chapter will ask how typical was the example of Thomas Colfe, and to what extent the hospital succeeded in producing useful and productive citizens.

Discharge information was entered in the admission register on the facing page to the admission details. The name of the child was written on the discharge page on admission and the details completed on discharge, including the date of discharge and to whom the child was discharged. If an apprenticeship had been arranged the length of apprenticeship and details of the master would also be stated. The entry was usually signed by the person to whom the child was discharged. Generally, children

¹ 'Indenture of Covenants between King Edward VI. And the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 57.

² Allan, *Admissions*, p. 52.

³ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 52; Allan, *Exhibitioners*, p. 19; 'Colericke-Coverley', in *Alumni* ed. by Foster pp. 304-337; CCED Person ID 40469.

were discharged to apprenticeship or service, to a family member, to another person, back to the parish from which they were admitted. A small number of boys went on to Oxford or Cambridge University. I will examine each of these categories in more detail in this chapter. It must be pointed out at the start, however, that there are limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn from the available data. Firstly, out of 8,744 admission records 1,712, approximately 20 per cent, have no discharge information at all, leaving 7,032 records with some information on the discharge (including deaths). A further fifty-six of these show only the date of discharge and no information on the destination of the child. The amount of detail given in each case is also variable. Ann Beardsley, for example, was discharged on 10 January 1638/9 to ‘Richard Middleton joiner of the parish of St. Sepulchre & by Ellin his wife with whom she is to serve for the term of 5 yrs’.,⁴ whereas the entry for William Hoare on 20 June 1657 says only ‘discharged to his master’.⁵ Another limitation is that there is no specific information on how decisions were made about where a child should be sent on discharge, or how arrangements were made. I will discuss this further in the sections below.

Deaths of children were recorded as discharges and as mortality at the hospital was discussed in detail in Chapter 4 very little will be said about mortality in this chapter, although it is important to note here that mortality accounted for 2,173 of the 7,032 (just over 30 per cent) of all discharge entries where at least some information is recorded. Apart from Figure 5-1 below, these entries are excluded from the data discussed in this chapter, as are admissions with no discharge entries. Figure 5-2 shows the discharge information after the mortality entries and entries with no information have been removed, whilst Figure 5-3 shows the age on discharge across the whole population, excluding mortality. Comparative charts showing differences between each of the discharge categories are produced in the appendix to this chapter.

⁴ C.R., vol. 2, f. 99.

⁵ C.R., vol. 3, f. 190.

Figure 5-1: Discharges including deaths and entries with no information (n=8,744)

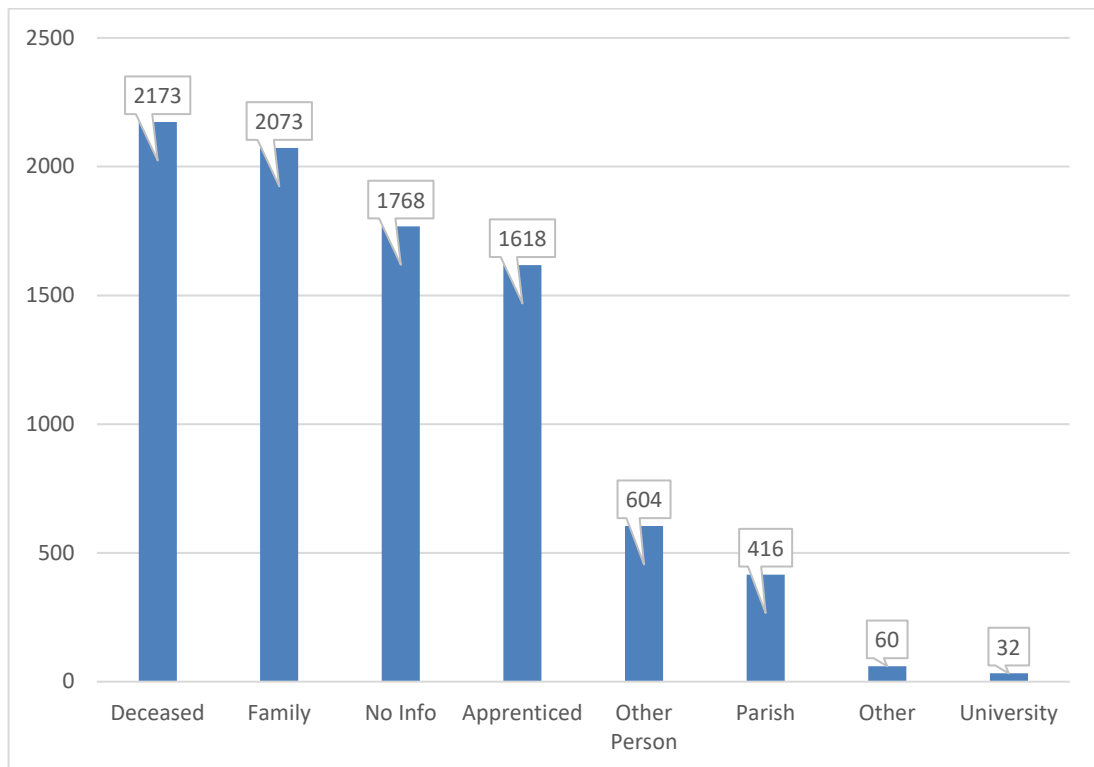


Figure 5-2: Discharges excluding deaths and entries with no information (n= 4,803)

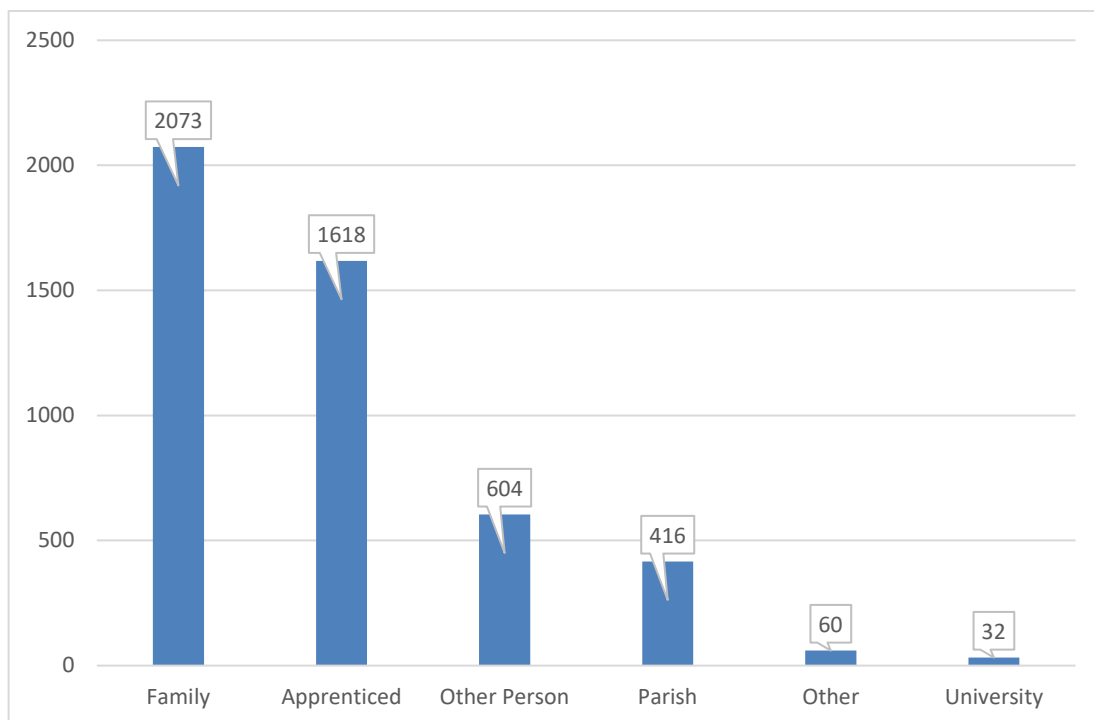
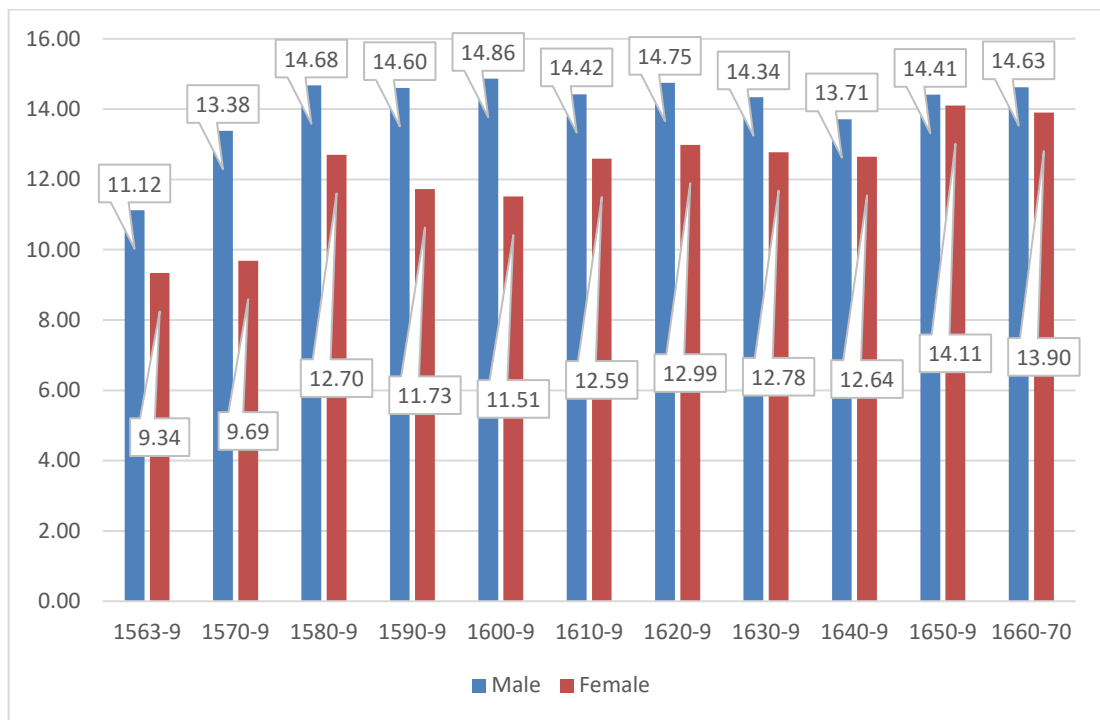


Figure 5-3: Average age on discharge (n=4632)



5.2 Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship was an important stage in the transition to adulthood and part of a clearly defined and ritualised process, ultimately culminating in citizenship and the formation of an independent household. Steve Rappaport has estimated that 90 per cent of all men who gained freedom in sixteenth century London did so through apprenticeship, and that of the total male population, some 75 per cent had served an apprenticeship.⁶ Patrick Wallis also comments that apprenticeship was the main path to citizenship in the early modern period,⁷ and many other historians have identified the importance, and frequency, of some form of service or apprenticeship in the transition from adolescence to adulthood, as well as to the ability to set up a household and lead an independent life.⁸ Given Christ's Hospital's purpose of producing individuals who would be able to 'virtuously occupie [themselves] in good

⁶ Rappaport, *Worlds*, pp. 292-4.

⁷ Patrick Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England', *Journal of Economic History*, 68.3 (2008), p. 832

⁸ Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Service and the coming of age of young men in seventeenth-century England,' *Continuity and Change*, 3.1 (1988), p. 43; Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 52-3; Ralph Anthony Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984), pp. 171-2.

occupacion or science profitable to the comon weale',⁹ the placing of children into service or apprenticeship was a key facet of the culmination of this process. This section looks at the data on children who were discharged to apprenticeship or service.

Both Margaret Pelling and Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos have noted that the terms 'service' and apprenticeship were used interchangeably during the early modern period,¹⁰ and the terms service and apprenticeship are both used for boys and girls. Many records imply apprenticeship without using the term by stating that the child was 'discharged to his master'. Joseph Jues, for example, was discharged on 8 April 1658 to John Wise, 'his intended master'.¹¹ There is no further information about the length of service. I have treated entries of discharge to someone described as 'master' or 'mistress' as apprenticeship, and discharges to another person not obviously connected to the child as 'discharge to another person'. Discharges that specify a period of time I have also classified as apprenticeship. For example, Thomas Gummell was discharged in 1644 to Nicholas Amnoth for eight years.¹² There is no further information on this discharge. Of the 1,132 discharge entries to apprenticeship or service, approximately two-thirds (724) specify a term of service ranging between three and twelve years.

In early modern England children were generally apprenticed either by parents or by their parish. A distinction must be made between these two types of apprenticeship, the former being dependent usually on the parents' means and contacts and an attempt to secure the best possible placement for the child, and the latter an answer to the social and economic problems of the poor. Parents, if sufficiently wealthy, could expect to place a son in an apprenticeship that would give an opportunity for economic and social advancement, whilst parish apprenticeships tended to be made to lower-status occupations. One of the questions that I want to answer here is whether the apprenticeship arrangements made for the children of Christ's Hospital

⁹ 'Covenants Edward VI', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 57.

¹⁰ Pelling, *Child Health*, p. 151; Ben-Amos, *Service*, p. 44.

¹¹ C.R., vol. 3, f. 115.

¹² *Ibid*, vol. 3, f. 34.

can be compared with pauper apprenticeships arranged by the parishes, or whether they were more akin to privately arranged apprenticeships.

The first thing to note is the number of children who were discharged to apprenticeship or service, and the way that this changes over time. Between 1563-99, 69 per cent of the boys discharged, and 47 per cent of the girls, were said to be being apprenticed or in service. The percentage of children apprenticed declines in the seventeenth century, and in the period 1600-1670 only 34 per cent of boys and 18 per cent of girls were discharged to apprenticeship. The most likely reason for this is that the number of children being admitted and subsequently discharged increased substantially in the seventeenth century, making it logistically more difficult to find masters for the growing numbers of children who needed them, as shown in Figure 5-4 below. Figure 5-5 shows the ratio of apprenticeship discharges to other discharges. Another possible reason for the change is the 1598 poor law, which changed the relationship between the hospital and the parishes, shifting the locus of power towards the parishes and away from the hospital, as discussed in Chapter 2. On balance it seems unlikely that the Act had any direct influence on this issue, as the number of children being discharged back to the parish was insignificant before the 1620s. Most of the increased number of children being discharged were returned to their families. This does not mean that the parish was not involved in supporting them following their discharge, but the data do not allow any further analysis of what happened to the children, except in the case of a number of children who were described as either being discharged to a parent and apprenticed, or a smaller number described as being discharged to the parish and apprenticed. These have been included in the data on apprenticeship presented here.

The complaint of one Goodman Jugger that, ‘rytche mens children be preferde here [Christ’s Hospital] and poore men’s children reiected’,¹³ is not borne out by the admission evidence presented in Chapter 2 that a substantial majority of admissions were via the parish rather than by private suit in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Furthermore, it is unlikely that parents of children at Christ’s Hospital

¹³ Quoted in Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 157.

were any better able to apprentice their sons advantageously themselves in the latter period.

Figure 5-4: Number of discharges by period, excluding deaths and entries where no information is shown (n=4,578)

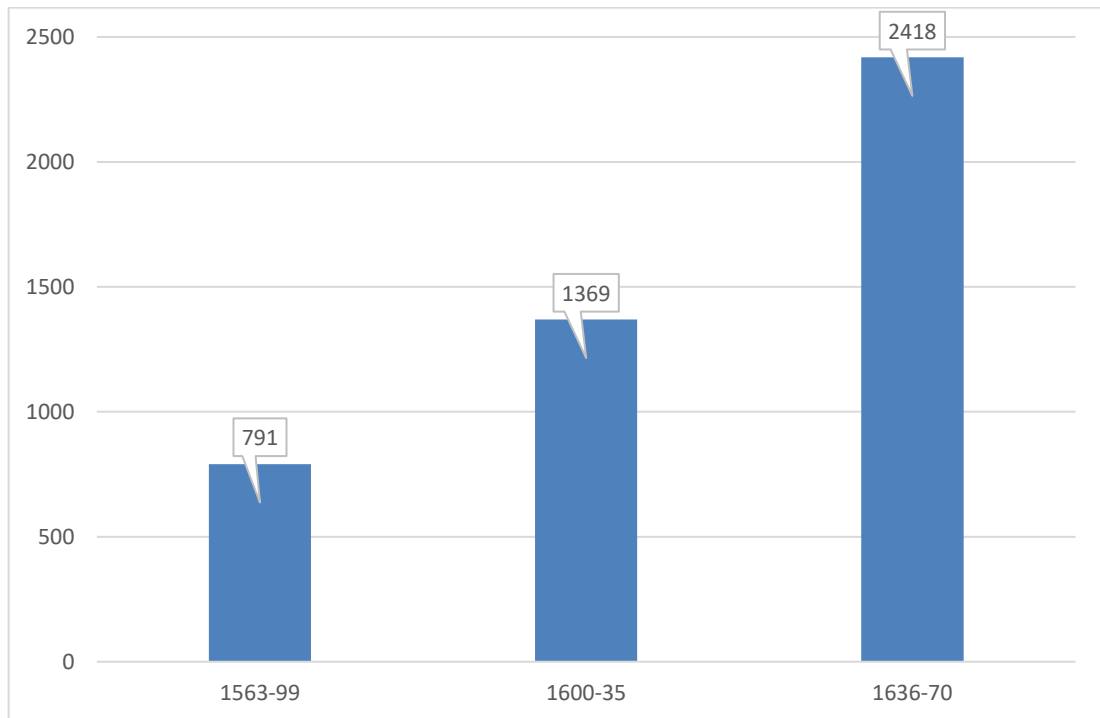
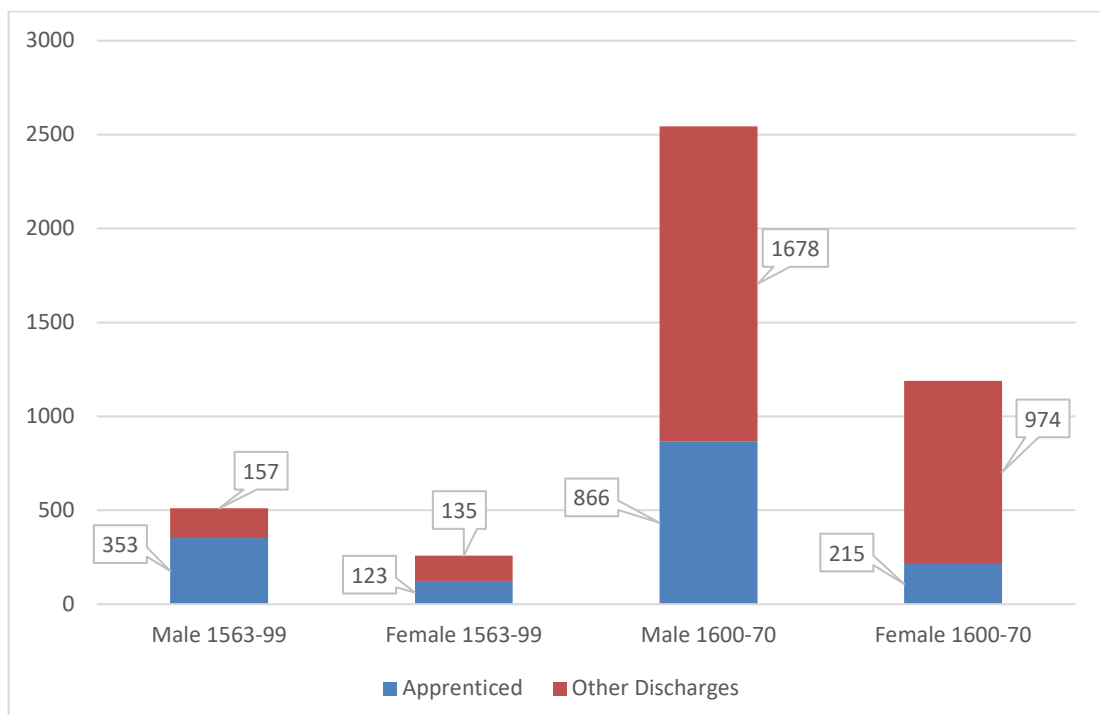


Figure 5-5: Ratio of children discharged to apprenticeship against all other types of discharge excluding deaths and entries where no discharge information is shown (n=4,578)



The exact mechanism for the placing of children in an apprenticeship is unknown, although the court ordered in December 1566 that ‘the wardens of all the companies within this citie shulde be sent for and by them a request be made to their companies that so manye as wanted anye apprentices that they wolde take of the biggest sorte of children kept by the charitie of the citizens which are not geuen to their learynyng’,¹⁴ and it is likely that this form of contact with the wardens of London livery companies was maintained. It is also highly probable that governors of the hospital would have used their own contacts to find masters for the children: James Powell was discharged on 15 September 1663 to Thomas Walker, ‘an acquaintance of John Jefforys esq one of the governors’.¹⁵ Between 1567 and 1607, thirty-six children were apprenticed to governors, or to the clerk Richard Wilson, and then ‘turned over’ to other masters. A total of 572 children were apprenticed during this period. Robert Cogan, who was treasurer 1593-1611, is recorded as having taken nineteen apprentices during his tenure, some of whose discharge entries had notes appended recording that they had been ‘turned over’ to another master. William Davies, for example, was discharged on 9 April 1600 and ‘apprenticed to Robert Cogan clothworker of London 10yrs, and by him turned over to John Taprill of Southwark musician 9yrs’.¹⁶ Robert Goodmane, on 23 November 1588, was ‘apprenticed to Richard Wilson Clerk of this Hospital, 8yrs., and by him put over to William Smith minstrel of Clerkenwell and to him was paid in money towards his education 40s’.¹⁷ The practice of turning over apprentices to new masters was not unknown, although this usually happened once an apprenticeship had started if either the master or apprentice was unhappy with the arrangement.¹⁸ In these instances it seems that the ‘turning over’ occurred right at the start of the term of apprenticeship, before any training had begun, and it is likely that this was an administrative practice used for convenience.

Although most apprenticeships appear to have been arranged directly by Christ’s Hospital, a significant number of apprenticeships were arranged by parents, or other parties, particularly in the seventeenth century. On 7 November 1647 James

¹⁴ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 282.

¹⁵ C.R., vol. 4, f. 23.

¹⁶ Alan, *Admissions*, p. 224.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 113.

¹⁸ Wallis, *Apprenticeship*, p. 842.

Sampson was discharged to 'James Sampson his father and John Wole his master'.¹⁹ John Medcalfe was discharged to 'his mother and master Stephen Bayley' on 20 September 1658,²⁰ and William Hartley was discharged to his mother and 'Thomas Mason weaver'.²¹ Simon Spelworth was discharged to his father a joiner and apprenticed to him.²² Ten children were apprenticed by their father in law, which in contemporary usage can be taken to mean stepfather. In one case an apprenticeship was arranged by a boy's nurse. Samuel Basforde, a three-year-old foundling, was admitted on 20 November 1574. He was immediately sent to nurse with Alice Reynolds of Wadesmill in Hertfordshire, where he remained until 19 April 1584, with only one brief return to the hospital on 1 April 1583, returning to Wadesmill on 8 May. Following his return in 1584 he stayed in London until 23 April 1587, and on 6 April 1588 he was 'preferred to a joiner Robert Skynglie of Wadsmill by Alice Reynolds'.²³ This is an unusual case and I have not identified any other instances of nurses being involved in the placing of children. Between 1626 and 1666 a total of twenty-two children were discharged back to their parish of origin and apprenticed. Thomas Derham was discharged back to St. Sepulchre parish on 6 April 1630 and apprenticed to Marmaduke Longworth, weaver, for nine years.²⁴ Thomas Harburt was discharged back to St. Nicholas Cole Abbey on 22 April 1630, and then apprenticed to John Harburt, silk weaver, for eight years.²⁵ Seven children appear to have arranged their own apprenticeships, although this may have been a form of words given that the indentures were between master and apprentice: John Nicolson was apprenticed by the hospital to John Borne a leatherseller for eleven years, but the entry continues: 'He hath put himself over to Rowland Powell glover of West Smithfield for 8 yrs.'²⁶ It is not clear whether his apprenticeship to John Borne had started or not. Thomas Short was discharged 18 January 1594/5, the discharge entry recording that he 'hath put himself apprentice to John Walker citizen and draper of London, 8 yrs.'²⁷ Figures 5-6 and 5-7 show the extent of this.

¹⁹ C.R., vol. 3, f. 81.

²⁰ Ibid, f. 110.

²¹ C.R., vol. 4, f. 87.

²² C.R., vol. 3, f. 129.

²³ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 127.

²⁴ C.R., vol. 2, f. 14.

²⁵ Ibid, f. 57.

²⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 105.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 237.

Cross checking the livery company records to confirm the indenture of children discharged from the hospital has yielded few matches. A search of *Records of London's Livery Companies Online* yielded only eight results that could be confidently linked to children from Christ's Hospital, three from the Stationers' Company, two from the Tallow Chandlers', and one each from the Goldsmiths', Drapers' and Clothworkers' Companies.²⁸

There is a difficulty in accurately assessing the number of children who left the care of Christ's Hospital to enter an apprenticeship, and the actual number is probably higher than the data suggests. A proportion of the children here categorised as 'discharged to another person', where there is no obvious familial relationship or any indication of an intended apprenticeship, will in fact be service or apprenticeship arrangements. This is illustrated by two indenture records, one from the Plumbers' Company, and one from the Tylers' and Bricklayers'. Benjamin Farrant was discharged on 11 February 1663/64 to John Winckles. In the discharge entry there is no reference to apprenticeship, yet the Plumbers' Company records record an indenture between Farrant and Winckles dated 29 June 1664.²⁹ The other example is John Jackman, discharged to William Allenby 12 August 1667, again without specifying an apprenticeship. An indenture between Jackman and Allenby is recorded in the Tylers and Bricklayers' Company register, dated 19 May 1669.³⁰ Figures 5-6 and 5-7 show the way in which apprenticeships were arranged.

Figure 5-6: Apprenticeship methods where apprenticeship is specified in discharge entry

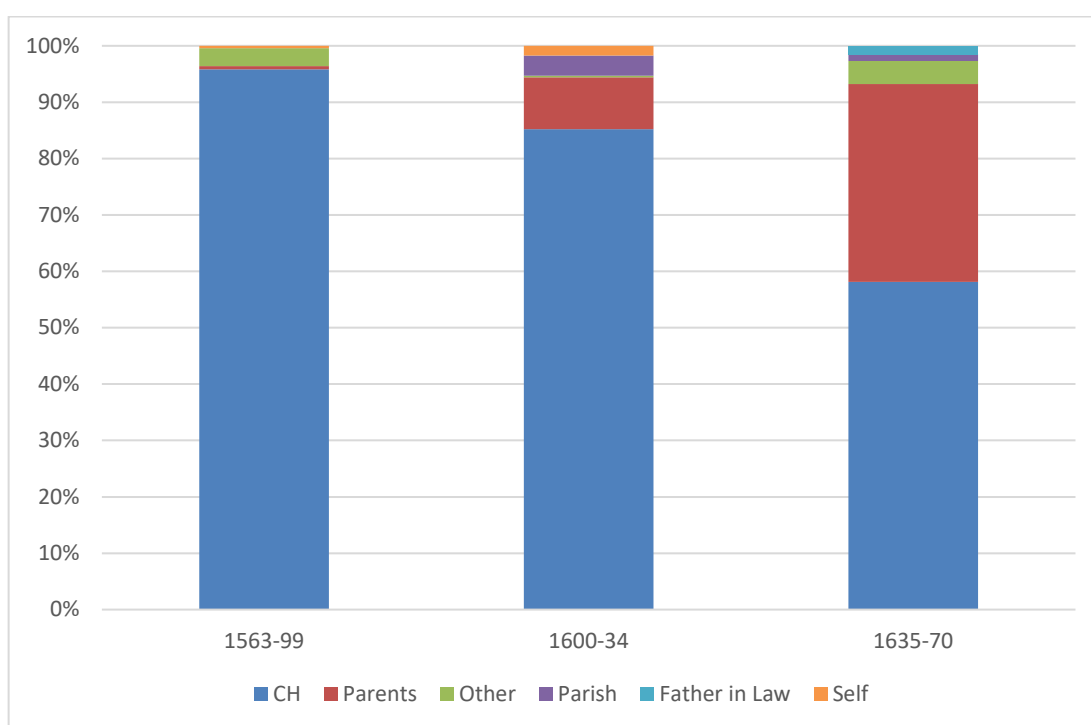
	CH	Parents	Other	Parish	Father in Law	Self
1563-99	483	3	16	0	0	2
1600-34	352	38	1	15	0	7
1635-70	387	234	27	8	10	0

²⁸ John Bateman, Allan, *Admissions*; p. 56, Thomas Hunter, C.R., vol. 1 f. 274; Robert Groome, C.R., vol. 1 f. 425, Henry Preiste, C.R., vol. 2 f. 119; Samuel Hancke, C.R., vol. 3 f.40; James Cole, C.R., vol. 3 f. 36; Sabine King; C.R., vol. 3 f. 135; John Downes C.R., vol. 4 f. 44.

²⁹ C.R., vol. 4 f. 93; Cliff Webb, *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers*, vol. 33. Plumbers' Company 1571-1800 (London: Society of Genealogists, 2000), p. 13

³⁰ CR, vol. 4 f. 77; Webb, *Apprenticeship Registers*, vol. 2, Tylers' and Bricklayers' Company, p. 42.

Figure 5-7: Ratio of apprenticeship methods where apprenticeship is specified in discharge entry



The information given on the terms of service or apprenticeship varies greatly, which makes it difficult to accurately count the number of apprenticeships arranged. The discharge entry for William Hoare in 1657 says only that he was ‘discharged to his master’,³¹ whereas Neville Hamlen’s discharge entry of 28 June 1589 reads: ‘To John Miller coppersmith, 10 yrs. This is void and indentures cancelled. 1590 Feb. 11, put over by indenture by the said John Miller to John Mymmes weaver, 8 yrs. 1592 Sept 27 app. To Henry Middleton silkweaver, 8 yrs’.³²

It is difficult to evaluate how many of the apprenticeships arranged at Christ’s Hospital were formal indentured apprenticeships because of the sparsity of information in most of the register entries. The case of Neville Hamlen above clearly states that he was an indentured apprentice. In the case of a formal apprenticeship the indentures were made in the hall of the relevant Company, and this is confirmed in a few instances at Christ’s Hospital, as in the entry stating that William Mullens was ‘apprenticed to Mr. Johnson vintner at the Cardinals Hat without Newgate for [blank] years. His indentures to be made at the Vintners Hall’.³³ Richard Gorie was likewise

³¹ C.R., vol. 3, f. 190.

³² Allan, *Admissions*, p. 162.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 135.

‘Put prentice to Mr. Holowell merchant taylor of St. Mary Lebow lane. His indentures made in Merchant Taylors Hall’.³⁴ There is no discharge date, but he was admitted on 18 March 1580/1 aged eight, so the indenture was likely to have been made some time in the late 1580s. One unusual discharge entry is that of Nycholas Rychardson, who on 25 October 1588 was apprenticed to Elis Parry, a silk weaver, for ten years. The discharge entry notes that: ‘The indenture was made at the Hall without the consent of this house’.³⁵ Frustratingly there is no information on why the hospital did not consent.

On some of the discharge entries the clerk making the entry added an ‘indenture number’, although it is not clear to what these refer. The discharge entry of John Dicher, for example, who was discharged on 5 June 1619, and apprenticed to John Boothe, weaver, says ‘indenture number 9’.³⁶ This is the lowest of these numbers recorded, and the highest is 125, recorded on the entry of Roger Cowdell, who was discharged on 21 May 1621.³⁷ There is not a full list of consecutive numbers between 9 and 125, so how and why these numbers were assigned is unknown, although there is some hint that indentures may have been made within the hospital from a few records that specify that ‘no indentures were taken in this house’, so the numbers may refer to indentures taken within the hospital. Edward Lynge, for example, was discharged in September 1590 and ‘put apprentice, no indentures taken in this house’. A further entry, dated 7 August 1592, records that he was apprenticed to Richard Newton of London, silk weaver, for nine years.³⁸

Most entries make no reference to indentures at all. There are several possible explanations for this, one being that the clerks were simply not that fastidious about completing entries fully. As mentioned above there were wide differences in the amount of information recorded in separate entries. A second possibility was the practice of putting children with masters ‘on liking’, whereby a trial period was negotiated before the indentures were made. Patrick Wallis has noted that this could last anywhere between a few months and a full year.³⁹ There are very few instances

³⁴ Ibid, p. 162.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 175.

³⁶ C.R., vol. 1, f. 390.

³⁷ Ibid, f. 340.

³⁸ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 187.

³⁹ Wallis, *Apprenticeship*, p. 842.

recording this in the discharge entries, although one entry stands out as a tragic example of the practice not working. Jane St. Thomas, a foundling abandoned at the gates of St. Thomas's Hospital on 23 May 1579, was discharged on 24 April 1591 and 'put upon liking and within one month bound by pence to Christopher Moseley and Katherine his wife'. On 16 February 1592/3 a neighbour alerted the hospital to 'the grievous and ill-usage towards her' and she was brought back to the hospital where she died on 24 February 'and according to custom the crowner and a quest sat over her and the state of the matter is referred to the discretion of the magistrate'.⁴⁰

A third potential reason why indentures were not mentioned in most of the discharges could be that they were not indentured apprenticeships, or that the apprentices were never registered with the masters' companies. The Statute of Artificers (1562) set the rules for apprenticeships, and decreed, amongst other things, that the term of service should be at least seven years, that apprentices could not attain freedom until they were twenty-four years old, and that no-one could work in most non-agricultural occupations unless they had completed an apprenticeship. In London masters were required to present their apprentices at the company hall for enrolment within one to three months of starting. In 1577 the Weavers' Company ordered that apprentices had to be presented within three months, 'if they intend to keep them',⁴¹ but Rappaport suggests that many masters delayed registration for months or even years as the rate of apprentices failing to complete their apprenticeship was so high as to make it cheaper to pay fines for non-registration than to lose fees paid to the City and company for registration at the start of the term.⁴² Wallis also shows that guilds were less than successful in enforcing apprenticeship rules and also suggests that their interest in apprentices was focussed on controlling numbers and thus restricting future competition, thereby giving masters an incentive to train apprentices secretly.⁴³

It was not uncommon for children to be returned to the hospital after the start of the apprenticeship and for a second apprenticeship, or even a third, to be arranged. Edward Ffeild was apprenticed three times after being discharged on 12 July 1605.

⁴⁰ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 152.

⁴¹ Rappaport, *Worlds*, p. 319.

⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 317-8.

⁴³ Wallis, *Apprenticeship*, pp. 851-2.

He was originally 'put apprentice to Anthony Com of white chappel'. Then 16 March 1606/7 he was 'put to boniface Henry of White chapel, and finally on 10 May 1608 'put apprentice to Peter Amery of St Saviour in Southwark waterman'.⁴⁴ John Ensor was discharged on 28 January 1624/5 to Richard Cardine, a felt maker. He was 'not found fitting and returned home again', possibly due to a disability or lack of physical ability, and then in March 1625/6 was discharged to his mother and apprenticed to Thomas Ware for eight years.⁴⁵ The hospital also took children back, even after several years, if they had been mistreated in service, as demonstrated by the case of Henry Hanam, who was apprenticed to Robert Cook, haberdasher, on 22 December 1571 for ten years. He returned to Christ's, 'for that he was abused in service', and on 8 May 1574 was sent 'lame to Hugh Bovey of Standon' in Hertfordshire. He was returned a year later on 3 April 1575 and in June of the same year began an apprenticeship with Ann Sands, 'widow of the Haberdashers Company', for the term of eight years.⁴⁶ It should be made clear that where an occupation is stated for the master in the discharge entry it is not clear whether this is a guild affiliation or the masters true occupation.

Figure 5-28, in the appendix to this chapter, shows a full list of the recorded occupation or guild of masters (where detailed in the discharge entries). It is divided into eight occupational categories: cloth and clothing; victualling; metal; wood; leather; construction; mercantile and professional; and miscellaneous. A summary of the data is shown in Figures 5-8 and 5-9 below.⁴⁷ A caveat to be noted is that many of the discharge entries to apprenticeship or service do not list details of the individual master's occupation or guild. This is particularly true for girls, where only 155 of a total 379 entries (40.9 per cent) give occupational information for the intended master or mistress. For boys, 795 of 1,243 entries (64 per cent) record an occupation or guild. The lack of occupational listing may suggest that the majority of female bindings were to domestic service rather than apprenticeship, and this is also likely even if a master and occupation were detailed. This is discussed further below. The data shown in Figures 5-8, 5-9 and 5-28, which is drawn from the 795 boys and 155 girls where the occupation of the master is known, show that the largest number

⁴⁴ C.R., vol. 1, f. 327.

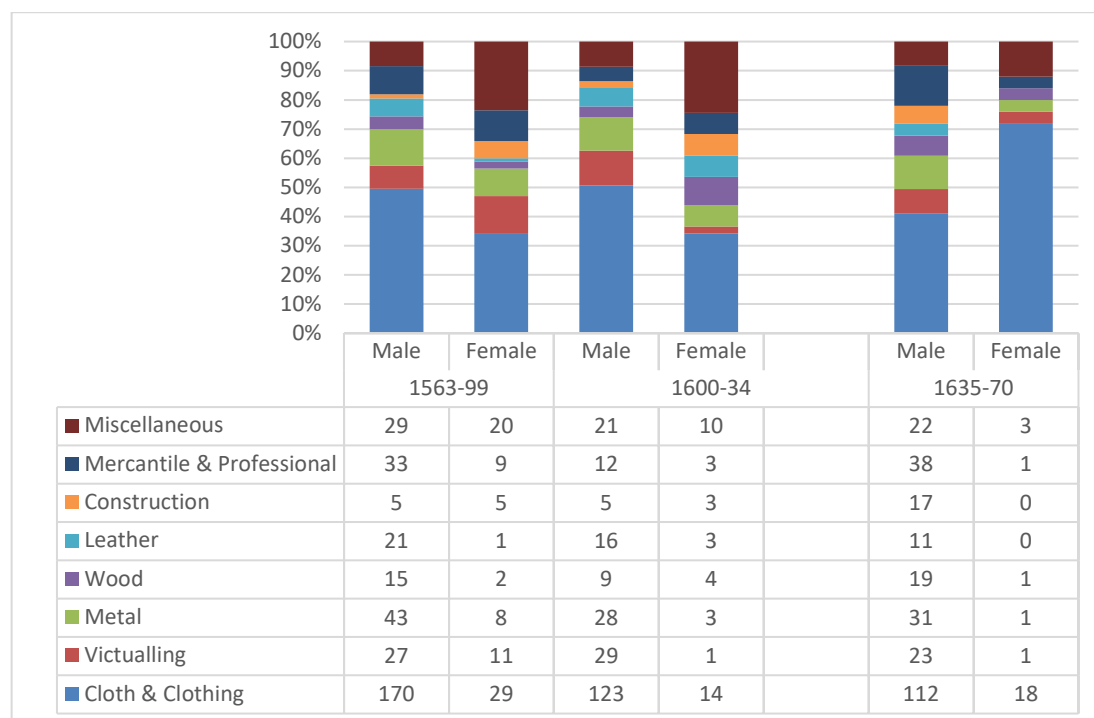
⁴⁵ C.R., vol. 1, f. 438.

⁴⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 78.

⁴⁷ The classification of occupations follows Rappaport, *Worlds*, p. 92 but with minor modifications.

of apprenticeships, for both boys and girls, were to occupations in the cloth or clothing trades. In the period 1563-99, 170 of 343 (49.56 per cent) boys apprenticed were to masters involved in the cloth or clothing trades. The ratio remained similar between 1600-34, when 123 of 243 (50.62 per cent) boys were apprenticed to the cloth and clothing trade, dropping to 112 of 273 (41.03 per cent) in the period 1635-70, as shown in Figure 5-8 below. It must be noted, however, as mentioned above, that apart from a very small number of cases, it is not certain from the Christ's Hospital discharge register whether it is the company affiliation, or occupation, of the master that was recorded. William Mullens, for example, was apprenticed on 1 September 1580 to a Mr. Johnson, 'vintner at the Cardinals Hat without Newgate... his indentures to be made at the Vintners Hall',⁴⁸ from which it seems clear that the entry is referring to the company affiliation. Other entries seem to refer to the master's occupation, with twenty-seven children noted as being discharged to masters recorded as shoemakers, with no company affiliation shown

Figure 5-8: Categories of occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed where known (n=950)



⁴⁸ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 135.

Figure 5-9: Categories of occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed where known (n=950)

1563-99								
	Cloth & Clothing	Victualling	Metal	Wood	Leather	Construction	Mercantile & Professional	Miscellaneous
Male	170	27	43	15	21	5	33	29
%	49.56	7.87	12.54	4.37	6.12	1.46	9.62	8.45
Fem	29	11	8	2	1	5	9	20
%	34.12	12.94	9.41	2.35	1.18	5.88	10.59	23.53
1600-34								
Male	123	29	28	9	16	5	12	21
%	50.62	11.93	11.52	3.7	6.58	2.06	4.94	8.64
Fem	14	1	3	4	3	3	3	10
%	34.15	2.44	7.32	9.76	7.32	7.32	7.32	24.39
1635-70								
Male	112	23	31	19	11	17	38	22
%	41.03	8.42	11.36	6.96	4.03	6.23	13.92	8.06
Fem	18	1	1	1	0	0	1	3
%	72	4	4	4	0	0	4	12

As stated earlier, the prominence of cloth and clothing trades in the data for apprenticeships arranged is unsurprising given the importance of this industry to London's economy in the early modern period. A. L. Beier estimated that the clothing industry accounted for over a fifth of the London workforce in the period 1540-1700, a finding mirrored by Jeremy Boulton's analysis of occupations in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields in the period 1600-85, where the clothing industry accounted for between one fifth and one quarter of adult employment.⁴⁹ Rappaport's

⁴⁹ Augustus L. Beier, 'Engine of manufacture: the trades of London', in *London 1500-1700*, ed. by Beier and Finlay, pp. 147-8; Jeremy Boulton, 'The Poor Among the Rich: Paupers and the Parish in the West End, 1600-1724', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 204.

analysis of men sworn as citizens during 1551-3 showed that just over 40 per cent were members of companies within the cloth and clothing industries.⁵⁰

Beier finds that the relative distribution of workers between the various trades of early modern London remained reasonably stable in the second half of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century, with the exception of the victualling trade. This showed an 80 per cent increase from 9 to 16 per cent in the period 1540-1700, due to the increasing demand for food in an expanding city.⁵¹ At Christ's Hospital there was an increase in the ratio of apprenticeships to masters involved in victualling occupations, but not to the same extent, rising from 7.87 per cent in the period 1563-99 to 11.93 per cent between 1600-34, before dropping to 8.42 per cent in the period 1635-70. There was, however, an increase in the number of boys apprenticed to masters in the construction industry, from 1.46 per cent in the period 1563-99 to 6.23 per cent in the period 1635-70, perhaps reflecting the physical growth of the city.

The individual occupations to which children were discharged within the cloth and clothing category changed over time. Discharges to masters where the occupation was recorded as weaver, linen weaver or silk weaver during the period 1563-99 accounted for thirty-nine of 170 (22.94 per cent) of all apprenticeships to masters involved in cloth or clothing trades. This increased to forty-one of 123 (33.33 per cent) during the period 1600-34, and to sixty of 112 (53.57 per cent) between 1635 and 1670. Conversely, apprenticeships to men described as merchant taylors fell from twenty of 170 (14.71 per cent for the period 1563-99, increasing to thirty of 123 (24.39 per cent) between 1600 and 1634, falling to seven of 112 (6.25 per cent) in the period 1635-70. Over the same period apprenticeships to men described as drapers fell from 11.76 per cent to none over the same periods. This is shown in Figure 5-10 below. One thing to note from this is that, of the five companies shown, four (the Merchant Taylors', the Clothworkers', the Haberdashers' and the Drapers') are amongst the twelve great livery companies; the number of children discharged to members of these companies decreased over the seventeenth century, but the number discharged to members of the Weavers' Company, one of the lesser companies, increased. It is possible that the reason for this is that an increasing number of

⁵⁰ Rappaport, *Worlds*, p. 92.

⁵¹ Beier, 'Engine', pp. 147-9.

apprenticeships were being arranged by parents of the children in the seventeenth century, and they were using their own contacts, rather than those of the hospital. As noted earlier Rappaport's comments must be borne in mind, that in many ways the Merchant Taylors' and Clothworkers' Companies were more akin to the lesser companies. They were both very large, and although they counted many wealthy citizens amongst them, they were primarily made up of poorer men working as cloth finishers or craftsmen in the cloth and clothing industries.⁵² As noted in Chapter 2 the Weavers' Company was also large by the end of the sixteenth century.

Figure 5-10: Change over time of male discharges to masters, where the master's occupation or guild is known, in most popular guilds, and ratio to total apprenticeships and apprenticeship to 'cloth & clothing' trades*

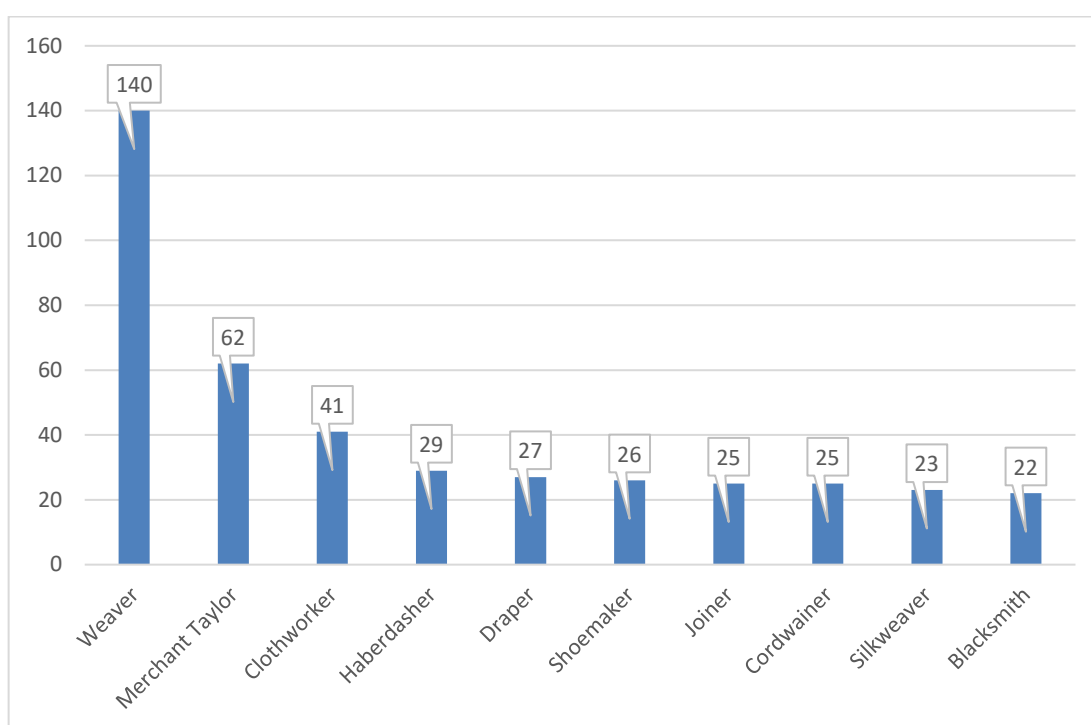
	Total App	No. Cloth & Clothing	Weaver	Merchant Taylor	Clothworker	Draper	Haberdasher
1563-99	343	170	39	25	24	20	14
% Tot. App		49.56	11.37	7.29	7	5.83	4.08
% C & C App			22.94	14.71	14.12	11.76	8.24
1600-34	243	123	41	30	11	7	8
% Tot. App		50.62	16.87	12.35	4.53	2.88	3.29
% C & C App			33.33	24.39	8.94	5.69	6.5
1635-70	273	112	60	7	6	0	7
% Tot. App		41.03	21.98	2.56	2.2	0	2.56
% C & C App			53.57	6.25	5.36	0	6.25

*'Total App' refers to the total number of apprenticeships arranged where the occupation or livery company of the master is stated in the discharge record. 'Weaver' refers to occupations stated as 'weaver', 'linen weaver' or 'silkweaver'.

The ten most common occupations of masters, where recorded, for boys are shown in figure 5-11 below, and for girls in figure 5-13.

⁵² Rappaport, *Worlds*, pp. 303-4.

Figure 5-11: Ten most common occupations of masters of boys apprenticed 1563-1670



Girls were recorded as being apprenticed, although not in the same numbers as boys. In the period 1563-99 48 per cent of all female discharges, excluding deaths and entries with no information, were to apprenticeship or service compared with 69 per cent of boys. In the seventeenth century the proportion of both boys and girls being apprenticed fell, to 18 per cent for girls and 34 per cent for boys. As discussed above these are probably minimum figures, as many of those being discharged back to parents or the parish or discharged to another person would have been found positions in some form of service. Domestic service was the most common occupation for unmarried women in late seventeenth century London. Peter Earle, using records from the Consistory Court of the bishop of London, the Commissary Court and the Court of Arches, found that of a sample of 201 unmarried women between 1695 and 1725, 124 earned their living from domestic service,⁵³ and that 60.7 per cent of women aged twenty-four or below were engaged in domestic service.⁵⁴ As noted earlier the individual discharge records of Christ's Hospital are vague on the exact nature of the relationship between the child and master, but it is highly probable that some, if not most, of the female apprentices from Christ's

⁵³ Peter Earle, 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *The Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 42.3 (1989), p. 339.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 343

Hospital were bound into domestic service when this is not specified. For the thirty-year period 1568-1598 the term 'covenant servant' was used to describe some discharges: Katherine Clerke, for example, was discharged on 28 August 1592 and 'put covenant servant to John Noakes and Agnes his wife for five years bound with five single pence', and then at an unspecified later date was 'put covenant servant with Humphrey Ward and Agnes Uxor (wife)'.⁵⁵ A total of 120 girls were recorded in the discharge entries as being discharged to either apprenticeship or service, of which thirty-two (26.66 per cent) used the term 'covenant servant'. For the same period 328 boys were discharged to an apprenticeship, of which only four (0.01 per cent) were described in the same manner. It is likely that the term was referring to domestic service, rather than an occupational apprenticeship, although girls were sometimes bound for long periods of time, the longest being ten years and the shortest three years.⁵⁶

There are examples in the discharge records of girls being bound for terms of seven years or more with indentures. Marie Nycolles was admitted on 24 February 1587/8 and discharged on 19 August 1600 to 'Robert Vallance of St. Katherine Creechurch ironmonger, which said child was bound apprentice to Walter Joanes of Bermonsey street tailor, 7 yrs, which said Walter Joanes hath turned over ye said Mary Nichols to ye said Vallance and thereupon delivered her indenture so that ye said Robert Vallance hath hereunto set his hand'.⁵⁷ Stephanie Hovland found that girls tended to serve shorter periods of apprenticeship than their male counterparts in the late medieval period, and, as Figure 5-12 below shows, this was true for girls from Christ's Hospital in the early modern period.⁵⁸ The average term for which girls were bound was shorter than that for boys. The mean term of apprenticeship for girls was 7.16 years in the period 1563-99, while boys were bound for an average of 8.78

⁵⁵ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 165.

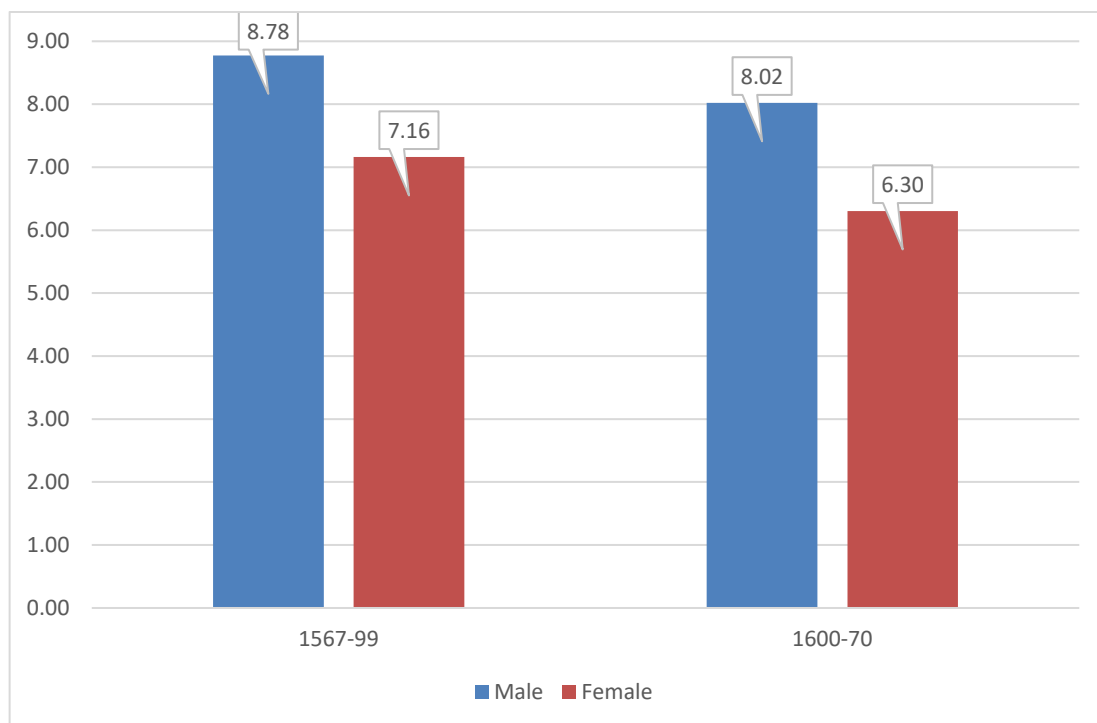
⁵⁶ C.R., vol. 1 f. 376, Marie Brunkard was discharged on 22 April 1622, 'To service to the wife of Stephen Davise haberdasher without aldersgate by the consent of the court and this her mistress did give 3d for 3 yrs. service in earnest as confirmation of the covenant': Allan, *Admissions* p. 174. Johane Easte was discharged on 6 March 1582/3 and 'put covenant servant to Richard Ward vintner and Eliza his wife, 10 yrs'.

⁵⁷ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 209.

⁵⁸ Stephanie R. Hovland, *Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London (c.1300-1530)* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2006) p. 88-9.

years, and in the period 1600-70 the mean term of apprenticeship was 6.3 years for girls, and 8.02 years for boys.

Figure 5-12: Average length of apprenticeship by gender (n=881 male, 243 female)



A small but significant proportion of women are found in livery company records, although formal apprenticeships of girls declined over the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos's study of female apprentices in Bristol found women represented in the records from the 1530s, albeit in very small numbers compared to their male counterparts.⁵⁹ Jessica Collins' study of women in the Clothworkers' Company between 1606 and 1800 found nineteen girls bound 1650-9, which represented 13 per cent of the total bound during that period.⁶⁰ K.D.M. Snell's survey of apprentices in Southampton between 1609 and 1708 found that out of a total of 367 apprentices 22.9 per cent were female,⁶¹ and Pamela Sharpe's survey of pauper apprentices in Colyton found that in the period 1600-1649 38.94 of recorded apprenticeships were female, falling slightly to 33.67 per cent

⁵⁹ Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Women apprentices in the trades and crafts of early modern Bristol', *Continuity and Change*, 6.2 (1991), p. 229.

⁶⁰ Jessica Collins, 'Jane Holt, Milliner, and Other Women in Business: Apprentices, Freewomen and Mistresses in The Clothworkers Company, 1600-1800', *Textile History*, 44.1 (2013), p. 74.

⁶¹ Keith David Malcolm Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 286.

between 1650-1699.⁶² It is likely though that in the case of female parish apprenticeships girls were being bound into long periods of domestic service, rather than a craft-based apprenticeship. Female apprentices certainly lacked the status and career prospects of their male counterparts. Hovland points out that female apprenticeship indentures frequently lacked the clause common in male indentures that they were not permitted to marry during the term of apprenticeship, indicating that for girls, marriage was seen as being preferable to formal learning of a trade or craft, and that it was a legitimate reason for terminating an apprenticeship.⁶³

The ten most common occupations of masters or mistresses for girls discharged to apprenticeship or service are shown in Figure 5-13 below, although there is a caveat that most of the discharge records for girls apprenticed do not give the occupation of the master or mistress. Out of a total of 379 discharge entries, only 155 (41 per cent) give this information so nothing can be said about the remaining 224 entries. The most common designation is widow; according to custom a widow could practise the craft of her deceased husband. Ben-Amos found in Bristol 1600-1645 that widows were found practising almost all major crafts, apart from merchants and mariners.⁶⁴ Four of the twelve great livery companies are represented in Figure 5-13 (the Goldsmiths', the Merchant Taylors', the Haberdashers', and the Ironmongers') and of those, the Merchant Taylors had the highest number of female apprentices. However, Rappaport's comments on the status of the Merchants Taylors' Company apply here,⁶⁵ as well as the caveat that it is not clear whether discharge entries refer to the occupation or guild membership of the master that the child is bound to.

For some of the girls recorded as being sent to apprenticeship, the occupation of their master can be identified in the discharge records. However, this does not shed much light on the actual trade in which the girls were to be engaged. Laura Gowing points out that girls might be apprenticed to a master, but the training of girls would typically be undertaken by his wife. Furthermore, the company of the master did not necessarily represent his occupation and was even less likely to represent the work

⁶² Pamela Sharpe, 'Poor children as apprentices in Colyton, 1598-1830.' *Continuity and Change*, 6.2 (1991), p. 259.

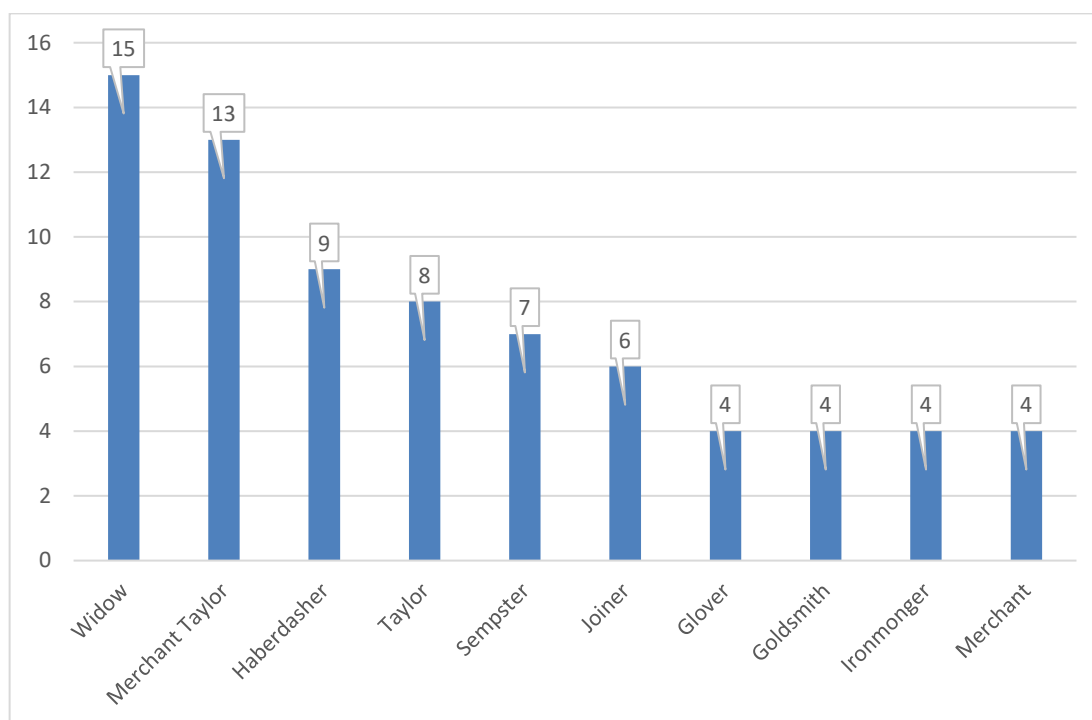
⁶³ Hovland, *Apprenticeship*, pp. 77-8.

⁶⁴ Ben-Amos, *Women apprentices*, p. 238.

⁶⁵ Rappaport, *Worlds*, pp. 303-4.

his wife was doing; many apprentices, both male and female, but particularly the latter, ended up ‘in a kind of fiction of participation’. The evidence shows that most girls were primarily involved in sewing of one sort or another during their apprenticeship.⁶⁶

Figure 5-13: Ten most common occupations of master or mistress of girls apprenticed 1563-1670



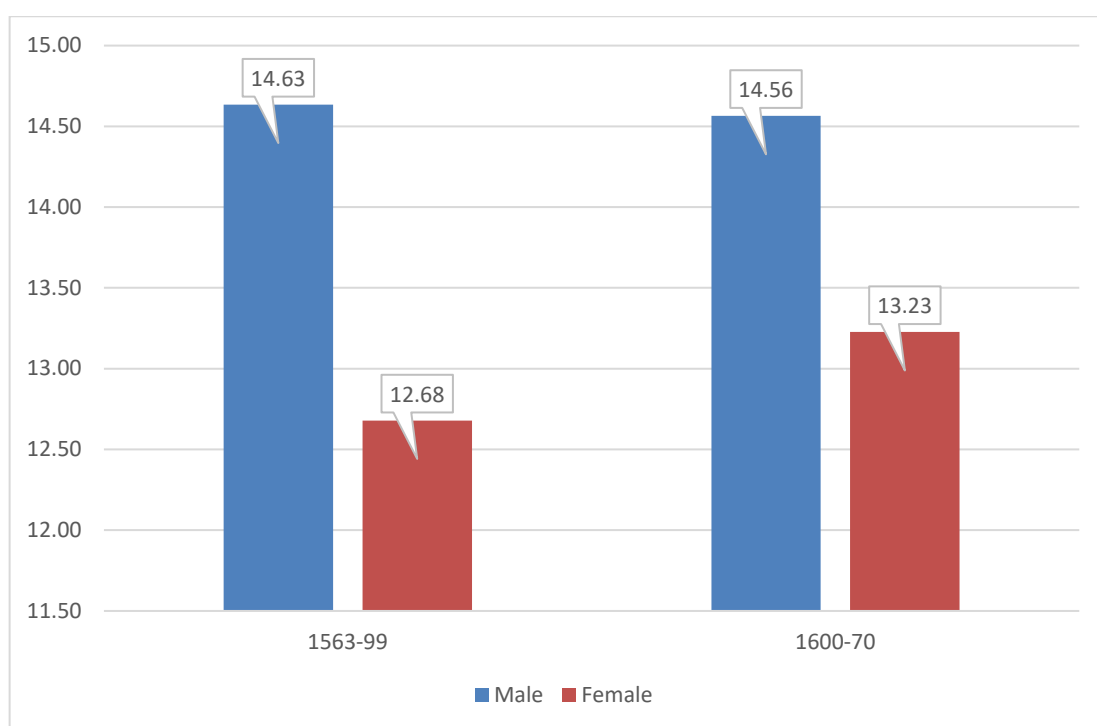
As noted earlier in this chapter, the exact age on discharge is impossible to calculate, as ages entered on admission and discharge were usually given in whole years. Neither date of birth nor baptism was recorded so ages given here are calculated by subtracting the admission year from the discharge year and then adding the age on admission.

Apprenticeship regulations should have had an impact on the age at which an apprenticeship began. The Statute of Artificers stated that freedom could not be attained before the age of twenty-four, and a minimum of seven years as an apprentice was required to become a freeman by this method. Assuming a seven-year apprenticeship, there was little incentive to begin an apprenticeship before the age of

⁶⁶ Laura Gowing, ‘Girls on Forms: Apprenticing Young Women in Seventeenth-Century London,’ *Journal of British Studies*, 55.3 (2016), p. 452.

seventeen.⁶⁷ Rappaport's study of 1,317 apprentices of the Carpenters' Company in the late sixteenth century concludes that the average age of apprenticeship was nineteen, with only 7 per cent younger than seventeen at the start of their apprenticeship.⁶⁸ The regulations at Christ's Hospital, however, dictated a maximum age for discharge of sixteen up until 1613, when it was reduced to fifteen.⁶⁹ It was further reduced to fourteen for girls in 1662,⁷⁰ although the actual age when children were discharged to apprenticeship was often lower than this, as shown in Figure 5-14.

Figure 5-14: Average age on apprenticeship by gender (n=1246 male, 348 female)



Assuming a seven-year period of apprenticeship and an average age of 14.63 at the start of the term, most boys from Christ's Hospital would have finished over two years before they were eligible to become freemen. However, Patrick Wallis has shown that freedom usually came several years after the ending of the

⁶⁷ Patrick Wallis, Cliff Webb and Chris Minns, 'Leaving home and entering service: the age of apprenticeship in early modern London', *Continuity and Change*, 25.3 (2010), p.379.

⁶⁸ Rappaport, *Worlds*, pp. 295-6.

⁶⁹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 172.

⁷⁰ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 129.

apprenticeship, the former apprentice being able to earn a living as a journeyman in the meantime, so this time disparity is not necessarily a problem.⁷¹

Alysa Levene's study of pauper apprenticeship suggests an average starting age of twelve years for pauper apprenticeships, although her study focused on a later period, 1760-1840.⁷² Pamela Sharpe gives a mean age of 8.7 years in the period 1598-1629, increasing to 11.6 between 1630 and 1689,⁷³ so the age on apprenticeship at Christ's is higher. If we compare Christ's Hospital with Wallis, Webb and Minns's survey of private apprenticeship in London between 1575 and 1810, we find that the hospital children were apprenticed approximately three years earlier, as shown in Figure 5-15.⁷⁴ As Wallis, Webb and Minns have only included terms of apprenticeship of seven years or more, I have only included children from Christ's Hospital where the term of apprenticeship is seven years or more. The average age range is between 12.74 and 14.77 compared with Wallis, Webb and Minns, who record an average age range of 16.94-17.94.

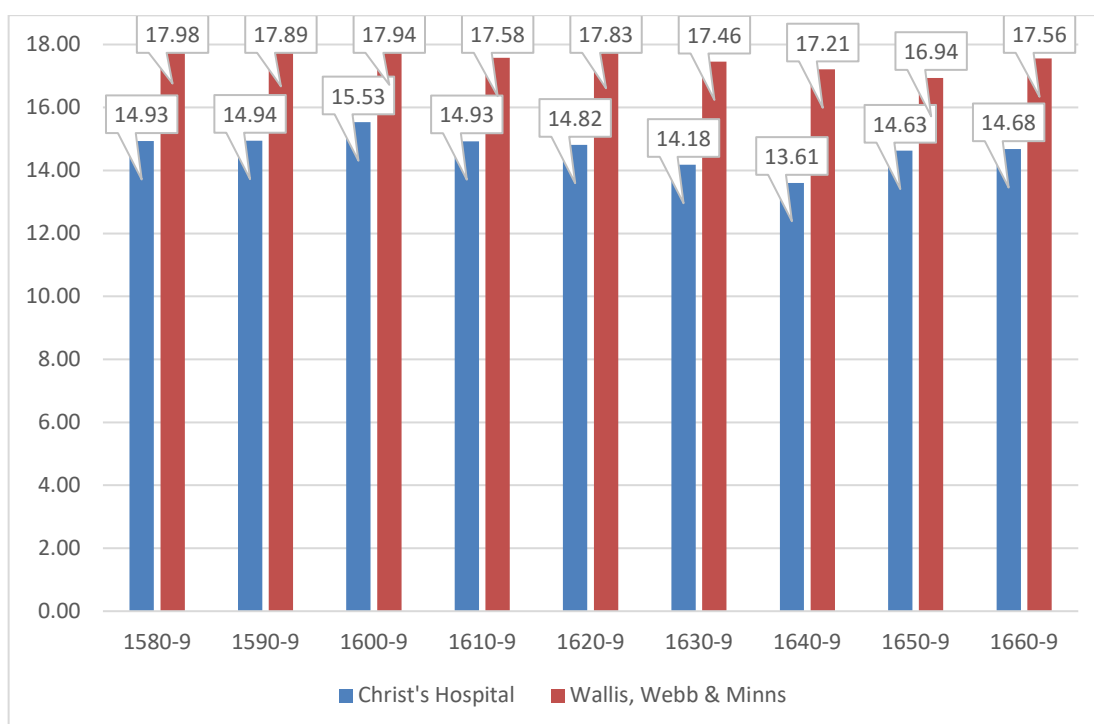
⁷¹ Wallis, 'Apprenticeship', p. 838.

⁷² Alysa Levene, 'Parish apprenticeship and the old poor law in London', *Economic History Review*, 63. 4 (2010), p. 924.

⁷³ Sharpe P. 'Poor children', p. 255.

⁷⁴ Wallis, Webb and Minns. *Leaving home*, p.386.

Figure 5-15: Average age of male apprenticeship at Christ's Hospital compared with Wallis, Webb and Minns



It appears that Christ's Hospital was sending children to apprenticeship at a later age than parish apprenticeships, but at a lower age than privately arranged apprenticeships.

It is perhaps surprising that Christ's Hospital made very few referrals to the apprentice school at Bridewell; in all only ten children are recorded as being discharged to Bridewell between 1563 and 1670, although as noted in Chapter 3, a small number of children were sent there as 'day pupils' in the 1620s. Apprentices were trained at Bridewell from the late 1550s by craftsmen appointed as 'arts masters' who trained apprentices in trades such as weaving, pin making and flax dressing,⁷⁵ although, according to a report for the governors of Bridewell in 1789, it was not until the early seventeenth century that the apprentice school was properly established.⁷⁶ On 10 October 1599 at the Bridewell court it was ordered that 'the governors shall take into the hospital poor freemen's children to be bound apprentice to several trades', and at the same court 'it was ordered that Richard Brooke, fustian

⁷⁵ L.W. Cowie, 'Bridewell', *History Today*, 23.5 (1973), p.350.

⁷⁶ William Waddington, *Considerations on the original and proper objects of the Royal Hospital of Bridewell. Addressed to the Governors* (London, 1789).

weaver, be allowed a house rent free, and keep ten boys as apprentices'.⁷⁷ The court ordered that more arts masters should be appointed in January 1599/00 and in March of the same year that the arts masters could not take private apprentices, 'but only such as shall be placed with him by this house'.⁷⁸

Only three of the ten Christ's Hospital children who went to Bridewell were recorded as being apprenticed, and all three were apprenticed to the same individual, William Baker 'weaver packthreader of Bridewell'. This was before the court orders discussed in the preceding paragraph, and it may be that the apprenticeships were arranged directly with Baker himself, rather than with Bridewell. The first child was Laurence Moore who was apprenticed to Baker on 26 March 1570, at the age of fifteen.⁷⁹ Two other boys, Nycholas Benden and Raphe Edwardes, were apprenticed to the same William Baker of Bridewell for nine years, both on 22 May 1574, and both came back to Christ's Hospital four months later on 24 August 1574. Edwardes was apprenticed to Thomas Reeves, salter, the following year on 7 May 1575, for nine years, and then apprenticed for a third time to Andrew Mullynbeck on 27 July 1577.⁸⁰ Benden was apprenticed to Thomas Audley, skinner, for a term of twelve years on his return to the hospital and there are no further entries for him in the discharge records.⁸¹ It is worth noting that Edwardes was well above the official discharge age of sixteen at the time of his last apprenticeship, around nineteen years of age, while Benden was below at twelve years.

Seven other children were discharged to Bridewell between 1573 and 1651, although none of their discharge entries mention apprenticeship. One other child was sent to Bridewell in a different manner, and presumably for disciplinary purposes: William Lee was apprenticed to Robert Lee, stationer, on 19 March 1574/5 for eight years. On 11 August he was 'brought in again by reason he ran so often away and sent to the lime work at Bridewell'.⁸²

⁷⁷ 'Extract from the Court book of Bridewell', in *Extracts* ed. by Bowen, p. 24.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 70.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

A court at Bridewell on 19 February 1640/1 heard that ‘the artsmasters who should keepe constantly 115 apprentices, have now but 69 apprentices; it is ordered by the court that the Clarke shall, at every courte, put them in mind of these defects till their number shall be supplied’.⁸³ It would seem that Christ’s Hospital would be ideally placed to fill this gap. A total of forty-four children were discharged to apprenticeship in the three years 1640-3, but none were apprenticed to Bridewell. This perhaps indicates the expectations that the governors had for the children of Christ’s Hospital, that they could aspire to a better apprenticeship than those provided by the arts masters of Bridewell. Waddington, in his report on Bridewell, remarks that ‘the child brought up at “Christ’s Hospital”, if of good capacity, would be “trained in learning”; but if he were not apt to learning, then to some one occupation or other... or, if he were lewd and idle, then brought to Bridewell’.⁸⁴

The foundation of the Virginia Company of London in 1606 and the establishment of colonies in America presaged a wave of indentured migration to the new colonies. Indentured servitude to the Virginia Company began from the late 1610s, and during the seventeenth century an estimated 70 per cent of white migrants to the American colonies were indentured servants.⁸⁵ A small number of Christ’s Hospital boys were among the first bound to the company: Robert Okey, John Hill and Edward Searles were all discharged on the same day, 16 August 1618.⁸⁶ Humfrey Kent was ‘sent to his mother in Virginia’ on 17 October 1617,⁸⁷ whilst John Ffells was sent by his mother in 1633.⁸⁸ Aziell Ely, who was originally admitted to Christ’s Hospital on 5 October 1609 at ‘the request of the Comissioners for Virginia’, was discharged back to his parents on 9 October 1617, who were then in Bermuda.⁸⁹ In total eight boys were sent to Virginia between 1618 and 1669, and nine children were sent either to the ‘Somers Islands’ (Bermuda) or Barbados. Not all indentured servants were willing migrants however, and the instances of ‘spiriting’ (or enticing or forcing individuals to migrate without their full consent or against their will) were a problem

⁸³ ‘Easter report’ in *Extracts* ed.by Bowen, p. 30.

⁸⁴ Waddington, *Considerations*, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁵ John Wareing, *Indentured Migration and the Servant Trade from London to America, 1618-1718; ‘there is a great want of servants’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). p. 1, 39.

⁸⁶ C.R., vol. 1, f. 426; vol. 1, f. 388; vol. 1, f. 347.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, vol. 1, f. 357.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, vol. 2, f. 116.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, vol. 1, f. 383.

from the beginning. The first recorded case of spiriting occurred in 1618, and in 1623 complaint was made by one Grigory Dorey that he had been present at the departure of a ship from Gravesend when he was taken to Virginia against his will.⁹⁰ Concern around the morality of sending children to the colonies may have been the motivation for the court deciding in 1640 that ‘there shal bee noe children sent to new England out of this house but such as their parents shall give consent for and discharge the house of them before their Transportacon’,⁹¹ as well as possibly reducing any future liability.

Eight boys were bound to the East India Company in the 1660s, the first of these being Richard Price who, on 21 April 1663, was ‘put forth to the East India Company for 8 yeares’.⁹² Five more boys followed on 20 January 1667/8, and one more two months later on 19 March 1667/8.⁹³ A further boy, John Davis, was apprenticed to the East India Company but the date of this is not known.⁹⁴ An entry in the court minute books for 1668 records that the East India Company had been ‘pleased to take off from the charges of this hospitall eight children to be employed in their affaires beyonnd the seas, and had att great charges clothed and provided necessaries for the sd children’s voyage’.⁹⁵

Premiums paid to the master at the start of an apprenticeship varied widely from company to company, and from master to master. Pelling’s study of the London Mayor’s Court interrogatories relating to disputes between masters and apprentices found that if premiums were mentioned, they ranged in value from nothing to over £200.⁹⁶ Given the almost constantly precarious state of the hospital’s finances it is certain that the hospital would have paid premiums at the lower end of the scale, or not at all if possible.

⁹⁰ Wareing, *Indentured Migration*, p. 170.

⁹¹ Pearce, *Annals*, pp. 282-3.

⁹² C.R., vol. 3, f. 216

⁹³ C.R., vol. 3, f. 216, Benjamin Hamlin; C.R., vol. 4, f. 101, William Prober; C.R., vol. 4, f. 40, Jonathon Thresher; C.R., vol. 4, f. 29, John Lacknell; C.R., vol. 3, f. 218, John Wilcockes; C.R., vol. 4, f. 45, John Sharpe.

⁹⁴ C.R., vol. 4, f. 45.

⁹⁵ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 283.

⁹⁶ Margaret Pelling, ‘Apprenticeship, Health and Social Cohesion in Early Modern London’, *History Workshop Journal*, 37 (1994), p. 38

It is difficult to say anything much about apprenticeship premiums paid by Christ's Hospital as they are not recorded in the treasurers' account books until 1642, and only in some years after that. The years in which they are recorded, and the amounts paid are shown in Figure 5-16, but it is difficult to infer much from this as the account books only show total amounts paid for the year, and not the amounts paid to individual masters. In 1647 and 1648 a note was made on each entry saying 'paid by a gentleman that does not desire to be known', indicating a bequest for that purpose, otherwise there is no further information.⁹⁷ In the years in which expenditure on apprenticeship premiums was recorded in the accounts, 188 children are known to have been apprenticed but none of their discharge entries make any reference to premiums paid. The account books show a marked increase in the total amount paid out in apprenticeship premiums from 1661 onwards, and although the mean amount paid per apprenticeship increases considerably compared with the previous three entries for 1652, 1653 and 1659, it does not reach the mean amount paid per apprenticeship in 1651 of £8 3s 5d. This illustrates the difficulty with the available data. The fact that premiums were not entered in the accounts every year indicates a lack of fastidiousness in recording these payments. It is also impossible to be accurate in calculating the mean amount paid due to the number of discharge entries with no information on the fate of the child, and the likelihood is that many children were discharged to an apprenticeship without the discharge entry specifying this.

Figure 5-16: Apprenticeship premiums paid 1642-1666

Year	Total Amount p.a.	No. of App's	Male	Fem	Mean amount paid per child	Notes
1642	£20 0s 0d	15	11	4	£1 6s 7d	
1647	£6 0s 0d	6	4	2	£1 0s 0d	Paid by 'A gentleman that does not desire to be known'
1648	£13 6s 8d	2	2	0	£6 13s 2d	Paid by 'A gentleman that does not desire to be known'
1650	£25 0s 0d	8	4	4	£3 2s 5d	
1651	£49 0s 0d	6	5	1	£8 3s 5d	
1652	£23 10s 0d	16	11	5	£1 9s 2d	
1653	£20 0s 0d	10	10	0	£2 0s 0d	

⁹⁷ T.A., vol. 7, 1647/, 1648/9.

1659	£22 13s 4d	43	31	12	£0 10s 7d	
1660	£26 0s 0d	38	26	12	£0 13s 7d	
1661	£92 4s 8d	32	30	2	£2 17s 9d	
1662	£118 0s 0d	32	22	10	£3 13s 9d	
1663	£177 0s 0d	42	37	5	£4 4s 2d	
1666	£65 17s 4d	43	35	8	£1 10s 7d	

604 children were recorded as being discharged to a named person who had no obvious connection to that child, and many of these may in fact be apprenticeship or service arrangements. Dionice Bassieshaw, a foundling left in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw, was admitted to the hospital from the parish, aged two-and-a-half, on 25 July 1590 and sent to nurse with Ann Tanner. There is no record of him returning to the hospital, but on 30 April 1599, aged approximately eleven-and-a-half, he was discharged to Robert Tanner of St. Michael Bassishaw, blacksmith, ‘in consideration wherof he recieved 20s’.⁹⁸ Robert Tanner was probably the husband of Ann Tanner. In this case it appears as if Bassieshaw spent his whole admission at nurse. It is possible that the 20s was an apprenticeship premium, but it is impossible to be certain. Jonathon Wilson, aged sixteen, was discharged on 16 April 1660 to William Wade ‘citizen and locksmith’,⁹⁹ and Sarah Williams, aged ten, was discharged on 17 November 1654 to Robert Allington, mercer.¹⁰⁰ Because of his age and gender, it is very likely that Jonathon Wilson’s discharge was to apprenticeship, but the nature of Sarah Williams’ discharge, and the relationship with Robert Allington, is much less clear, as her gender and age make it unlikely that she was apprenticed.

5.3 Other discharges

Not all children left the care of Christ’s Hospital with an apprenticeship arranged, and this section will examine the discharge arrangements for these children. Some

⁹⁸ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 220.

⁹⁹ C.R., vol. 3, f. 130.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, f. 128.

discharges resembled arrangements for foster care, involving payment for the care of the child. These cases, in which there was no obvious pre-existing relationship with the person to whom the child was discharged, and no information to suggest apprenticeship, are similar in nature to the arrangements made for sending children to nurse. Financial recompense was usually paid on a weekly basis at a level in line with payments made to nurses in London or the country. Joice Treherne was discharged on 27 April 1603, aged approximately nine years, to ‘John Becket of Enfield mealman with 8d weekly till Christmas’,¹⁰¹ a total of £1 3s 4d, and John Clint was discharged on 11 November 1600 aged approximately six-and-a-half to ‘Thomas Hooke of Windsor in the county [of] Berkshire, gent, in consideration &c 12d. weekly for one whole year’,¹⁰² a total of £2 12s. Unlike children being sent to nurse, however, these children were not returned to the hospital and future arrangements for apprenticeship or service were not taken care of by the hospital. Clothing was also sometimes given, or sums of money towards clothing. When Elizabeth Gennings was discharged in 1603 there was ‘given with the said child apparel that is to say a new gown a petticoat 2 pairs of hose and a new pair of shoes and 2 kerchers’,¹⁰³ while John Walters was given ‘10s. towards apparelling’.¹⁰⁴

Some discharges appear to be adoptions. Thomas Walter, a foundling admitted on 9 December 1642 aged one, was discharged two years later on 7 March 1644/5 to ‘a gent who named him Allen who will consent to be a father to this child’,¹⁰⁵ and Mary Johnson, aged fourteen, was discharged to Hester Bacher, ‘for her own’, on 27 September 1667.¹⁰⁶ Some children who had been sent to nurse also ended up remaining permanently with the nurse. Elizabeth Snell, aged thirteen, was discharged on 26 April 1647 to ‘her nurse’,¹⁰⁷ as was Joane Walter, who was discharged on 10 February 1644/5 aged eleven to ‘William Bonam her nurse’.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 250.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

¹⁰⁵ C.R., vol. 3, f. 88.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, f. 76.

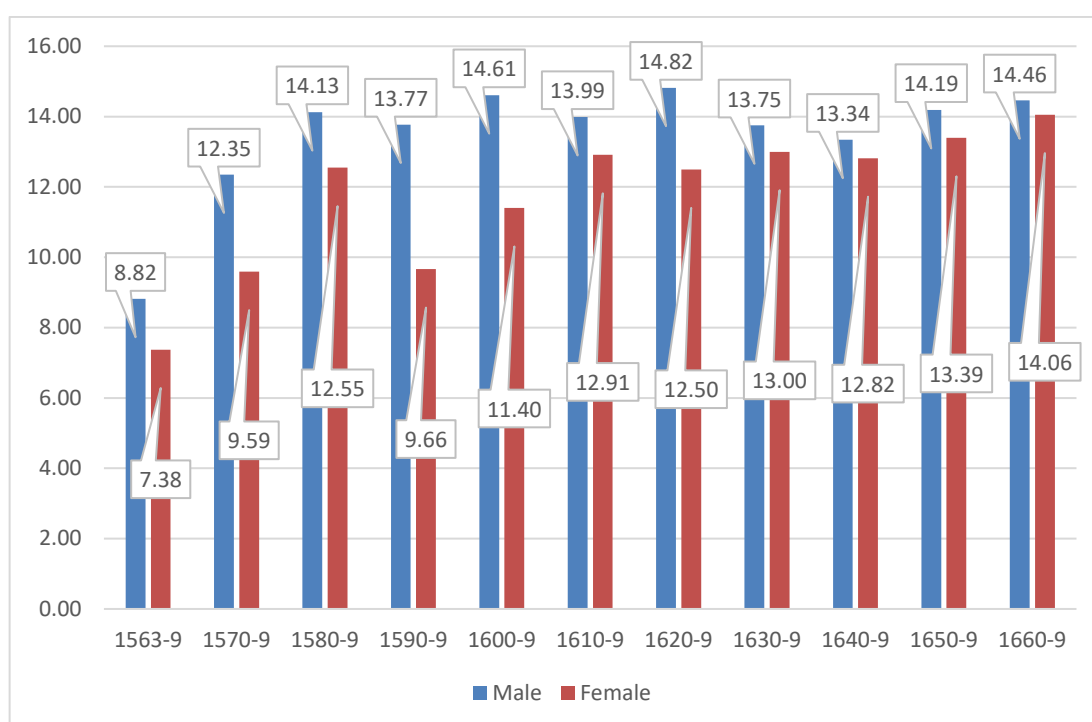
¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, f. 50.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, f. 49.

One discharge entry refers to the payment of wages. Francis Lane was discharged to ‘Mary Lane of St Olaves in Silver street widow with 34s 8d for a whole years wages beforehand’.¹⁰⁹ In this case it is possible that Mary Lane is the mother or another relative of the child, but this is the only entry in this category that makes reference to wages.

The average age on discharge is shown in Figure 5-17. Comparison with the age on other types of discharge can be seen in Figures 5-25 to 5-27 in the appendix to this chapter, but shows that the mean age for this type of discharge was lower than the average age on apprenticeship in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and slightly higher than the average age on discharge to family members during the sixteenth century, but becoming comparable in the seventeenth century.

Figure 5-17: Average age on discharge to other person (n=313 male, 249 female)



Of a total of 8,744 admissions to Christ’s Hospital between 1563 and 1666, 7,280 (83 per cent) came from one of the city parishes, yet of the 4,803 discharges where there is discharge information only 416 (8.7 per cent) were returned to the care of their parish of origin. The hospital asserted that the parishes had covenanted to

¹⁰⁹ Alan, *Admissions*, p. 260.

assume responsibility for children on discharge if other arrangements could not be made for them: (by) ‘ancient custome the parishes of this cittie puting to this house for to have any children admitted from them did covenant to take the children so admitted to there charge againe at 16 yeares of age, if they were not in the meantime provided for’.¹¹⁰ The use of the phrase ‘ancient custome’ is, however, possibly an attempt by the hospital to legitimise a new policy as the 1557 *Order of the Hospitals*, which details the admission criteria for parish children, makes no mention of the parishes’ obligation to take the children back on discharge.¹¹¹ There are, however, some instances of this type of covenant being made on admission. The first that I have been able to find is the discharge entry for Daniell Axon, who was baptised in the parish of St. Helen’s Bishopsgate, son of William Axon, Merchant Taylor, on 2 June 1584. He was admitted to Christ’s Hospital on 25 September 1591, and discharged on 26 July 1601, ‘to the parishioners of St. Helens according to a covenant made in the petition at the time of his admission to that effect’.¹¹² The next was John Sadler on 4 October 1607 where an unusually detailed discharge entry says:

discharged by the parishioners of the parish of St. Margaret Pattens where he was born according to a covenant expressed in the petition wherby he was admitted a child of this House. In witness wherof the parson of the same parish and other inhabitants thereof have hereunto set their hands. Guielmus Morrell parson; Thomas Notend; Jno Thomas Pyborne, churchwardens; Jno Richard Closey, George Cromer.¹¹³

The next parish discharge was Hester Basford on 23 June 1614. She was discharged to the churchwardens of Christ Church, ‘according to the condition... in their petition for the admittance of the said child’.¹¹⁴ Hester Basford was admitted from Christ Church parish on 6 August 1597, along with her sister Sara. Whilst Hester was discharged back to Christ Church, Sara was apprenticed to Henry Blackman, ‘citizen and weaver of London 7 years’,¹¹⁵ indicating that the option to discharge children to the parish of origin was only used when other arrangements could not be made, and

¹¹⁰ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 172.

¹¹¹ ‘Order of the hospitals’, in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, pp. 83-107.

¹¹² L.M.A. P69/HEL/A/001/MS06830/001, *Register of baptisms, marriages and burials, St. Helens Bishopsgate, 1575-165*, Danyell Axon, 2 June 1584; Alan, *Admissions*, p. 225.

¹¹³ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 242.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

that the hospital took their responsibility to arrange a secure future for the children seriously. For most of the other discharge entries no reference is made to covenants made by the parish at the time of admission, although for all admissions it was known by the admitting parish that they were ultimately responsible for the child on discharge if other arrangements were not made.

Parishes were sometimes reluctant to resume responsibility for the children they sent to Christ's Hospital, as demonstrated by the churchwardens of St. Andrew Hubbard in 1605, who asked the court to maintain William Palmer, who was due for discharge back to them, 'the said parish being very poore'.¹¹⁶ Likewise, in 1627 the churchwardens of St. Swithin asked that Joseph Collins aged seventeen and 'lame,' be allowed to remain at Christ's Hospital and be 'exercised in some usefull imployments'.¹¹⁷ The court minute book does not record whether the hospital agreed to the first request, but it refused the churchwardens of St. Swithin and Joseph Collins was discharged back to the parish.

Parishes sometimes accepted children back in collaboration with their own parents. Ursula Carter was discharged to the parish of All Hallows the Great and her mother in 1620,¹¹⁸ and Thomas Ffletcher was discharged back to St. Botolph Billingsgate and his mother on 24 November 1626.¹¹⁹

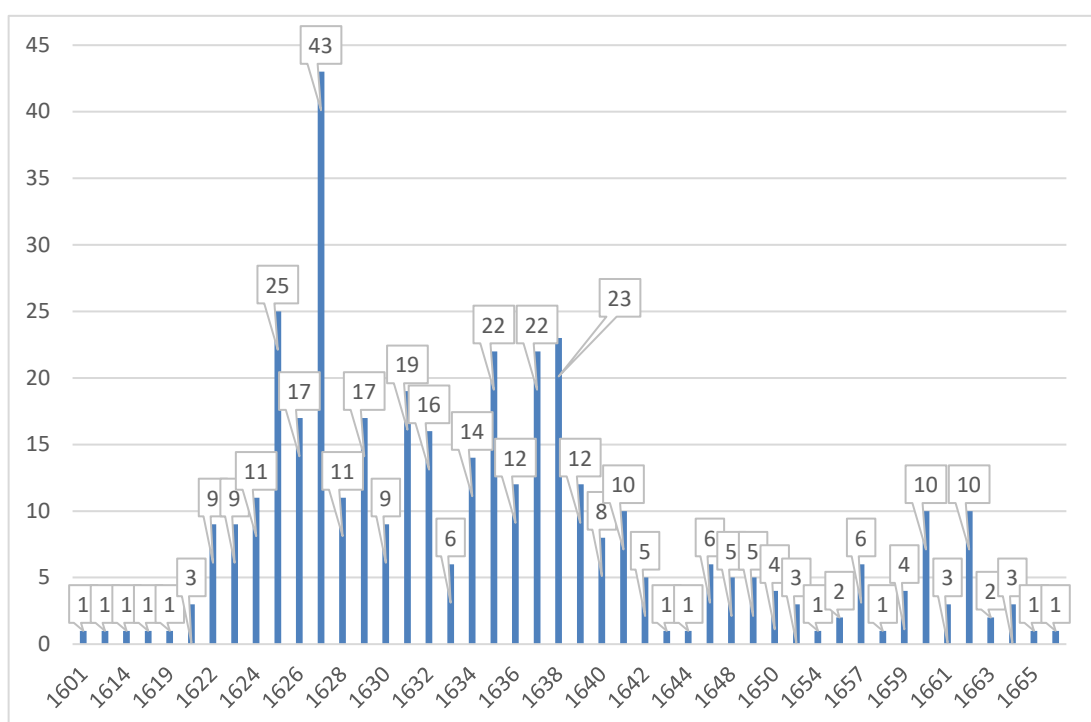
¹¹⁶ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 88.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, f. 418.

¹¹⁸ C.M.B., vol. 1, f. 384.

¹¹⁹ C.M.B., vol. 2, f. 25.

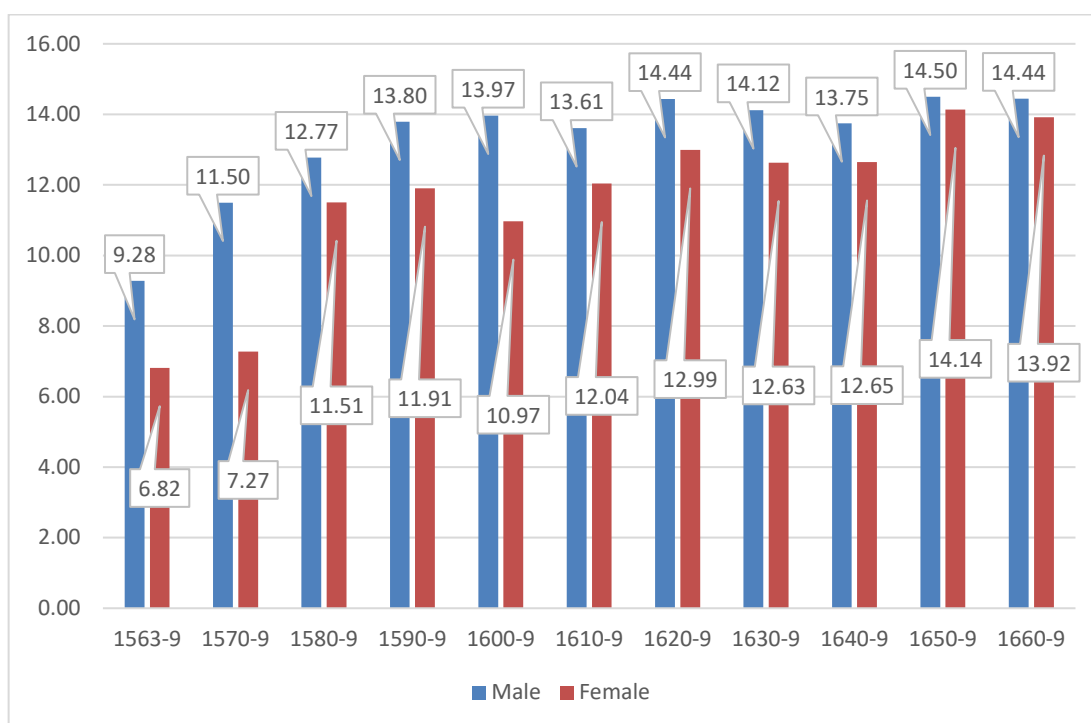
Figure 5-18: Numbers and years when children were discharged to parish



As discussed in section 5.2, a substantial number of children were discharged to a family member, and a number of these were then placed in an apprenticeship. Where this was explicitly stated those children have been included in the data on apprenticeship, but this section will focus on those children where this was not specified. As with all other information presented in this chapter, it must be remembered a substantial number of discharges contain no information at all on the placement of the child, and those records are excluded. It can be assumed, however, that at least some of the children described as being discharged to a family member, and at normal discharge age, would have gone on to an apprenticeship.

The average age at which children were discharged to a family member is shown in Figure 5-19 below, and comparison with Figure 5-14 shows that the average age was lower than discharges to apprenticeship until the 1620s, when the difference became less marked. Comparative charts of discharge ages in all categories can be found in Figures 5-25- to 5-27 in the appendix to this chapter. The increasing discharge age in the seventeenth century is, as discussed in section 5.1, probably a result of the increasing numbers of children for whom the hospital had to find situations.

Figure 5-19: Average age on discharge to family (n=1,174 male, 764 female)



The above chart includes children listed as being discharged to individuals identified as father, mother, parents, father-in-law, grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins, and siblings. The family members to whom children were most commonly discharged are shown in Figures 5-20 and 5-21 below. By far the most common family member to whom children were discharged was their own mother, indicating that the father was deceased, potentially casting light on the reason for admission in the first place. As discussed in Chapter 2, some admission entries identified the father as being deceased, but most did not. It is not possible to take the omission of reference to a father's death as proof that he was living at the time, and the substantial number of discharges to mothers suggest that many were not.

As with discharges to other people, children were sometimes discharged with sums of money, or with a weekly pension: 8d per week was a common amount. Heughe Evance was discharged in 1597 to his father with 8d weekly for six months,¹²⁰ and Simon Oulton was discharged to his father-in-law in 1603 with '8d weekly till michaelmas'.¹²¹ William Acton was discharged to his uncle John Couchman with

¹²⁰ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 221.

¹²¹ C.R., vol. 1, f. 311.

‘twenty shillings of lawful money of England’,¹²² and Elizabeth Brookebanke was discharged to her uncle in 1612 with 10s.¹²³ Clothing or money for clothing was also given on occasion: George Goodman was discharged to his mother with ‘money given for appareil’,¹²⁴ as was William Hughes in 1622.¹²⁵

Children were also discharged if family circumstances changed or if widowed mothers re-married. Mary Hews was admitted from St. Giles Cripplegate in 1655. The admission entry notes that her father Thomas, a butcher, was deceased. She was discharged to her mother, then living in Ireland, in 1663, ‘she having married with a butcher there is able to keep her’,¹²⁶ although details of how Hews was to be returned to her mother are not recorded. As with discharges back to the parish, many children were discharged back to their families simply because they had reached discharge age. Nathaniell Ward was ‘sent home to his parents being of age’.¹²⁷ The family members to whom children were discharged are shown in figures 5-20 and 5-21 below.

¹²² Allan, *Admissions*, p. 236.

¹²³ C.R., vol. 1, f. 338.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, f. 331.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, f. 381.

¹²⁶ C.R., vol. 3, f. 221.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, f. 103.

Figure 5-20: Family members to whom children were discharged 1563-99

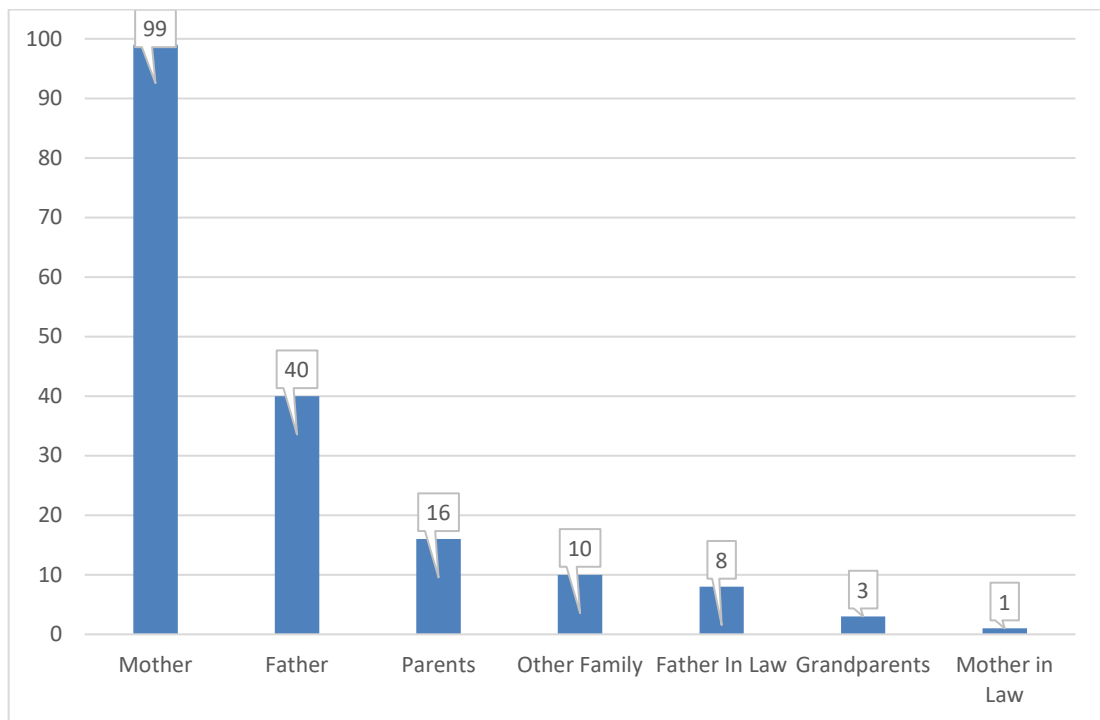
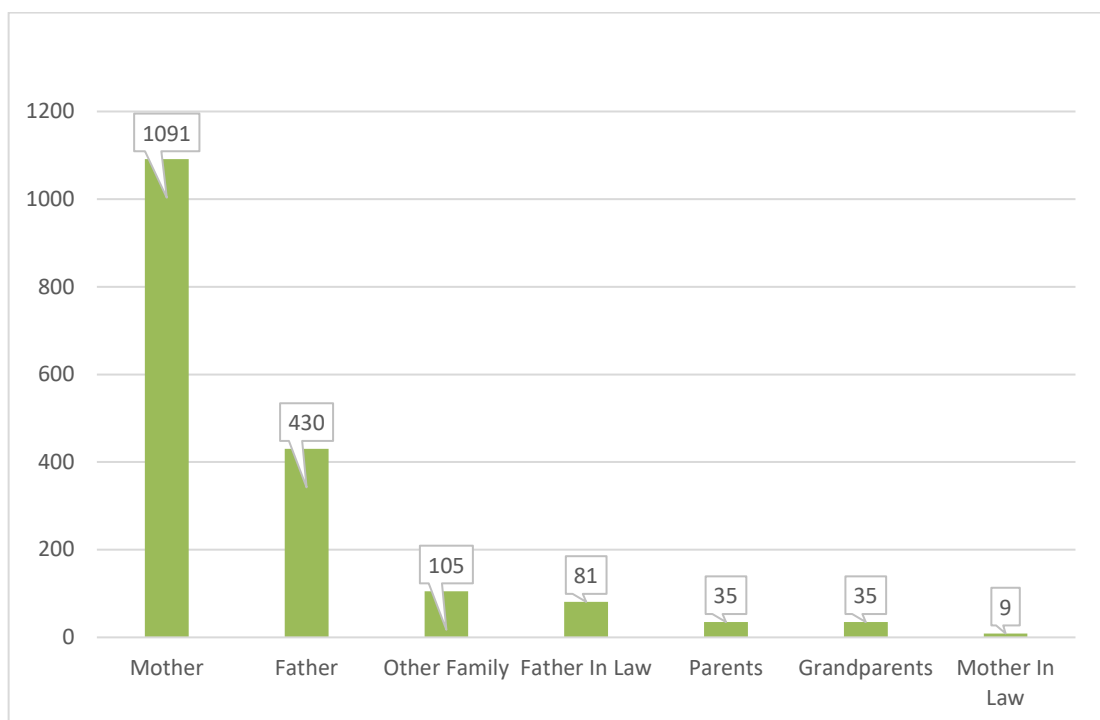


Figure 5-21: Family members to whom children were discharged 1600-70



One interesting discharge entry is that of Jane Brewer who was one of the children admitted following the dissolution of the Corporation of the Poor in February 1660/61, aged ten. She was discharged to her mother the following January 1661/62. The discharge entry reads:

Jane Brewer is this day taken and discharged from the future charge of Christ's Hospital for ever by Mary Brewer her natural mother. Witness her hand hereunto subscribed and so promise never to trouble the hospital hereafter concerning my said daughter.

An addition to the entry reads:

Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed churchwardens of the parish of St Martin in the fields doo hereby promise and undertake to save the treasurer of Christ's hospital of and from all trouble and charges... concerning the above named Jane Brewer¹²⁸

The entry is signed by four churchwardens. It may be supposed that the emphasis in the entry on Christ's Hospital not having any future liability for the care of the child is associated with the terms on which the hospital admitted the children from the defunct corporation, but if that was the case similar discharge entries would be expected for the other 118 children who were admitted in the same way, and there are none. The discharge destinations of the rest are similar to discharges of other children during the same period: fifty-one had apprenticeships arranged, thirty-eight were discharged to family members, thirteen were discharged to other people, ten died, five were returned to their parishes of origin and there is no discharge information for two of them.

A number of boys did go on to either Oxford or Cambridge, but this number was low. Of 3,318 male discharges where the type of discharge is recorded in the hospital records only thirty-two were recorded as going to university. A further twenty-three Christ's Hospital boys, for whom no discharge information is entered in the hospital records, can be identified from other sources as attending university, making a total of fifty-five (1.65 per cent of discharges where the placement of the child is recorded) university entrants.¹²⁹ The first of these was John Prestman. There are no details about his admission, but he went to Cambridge on 15 June 1566. An entry in the court minute books dated 3 June 1570 shows him to be at Oxford at this time. He was granted a pension of 12d weekly while at Cambridge, and when he migrated to Oxford five marks was granted by the court 'towrds his charge and apparel in p[ro]cedinge Batchellar'. He gained a B.A. in 1570 and an M.A. 1574. He was rector

¹²⁸ C.R., vol. 4, f. 98.

¹²⁹ Allan, *Exhibitioners*, pp. 15-27; *Alumni* ed. by Foster; *ACAD*.

of Haversham in Buckinghamshire 1572-3 and rector of Emberton in Buckinghamshire from 1574 until his death in 1618.¹³⁰

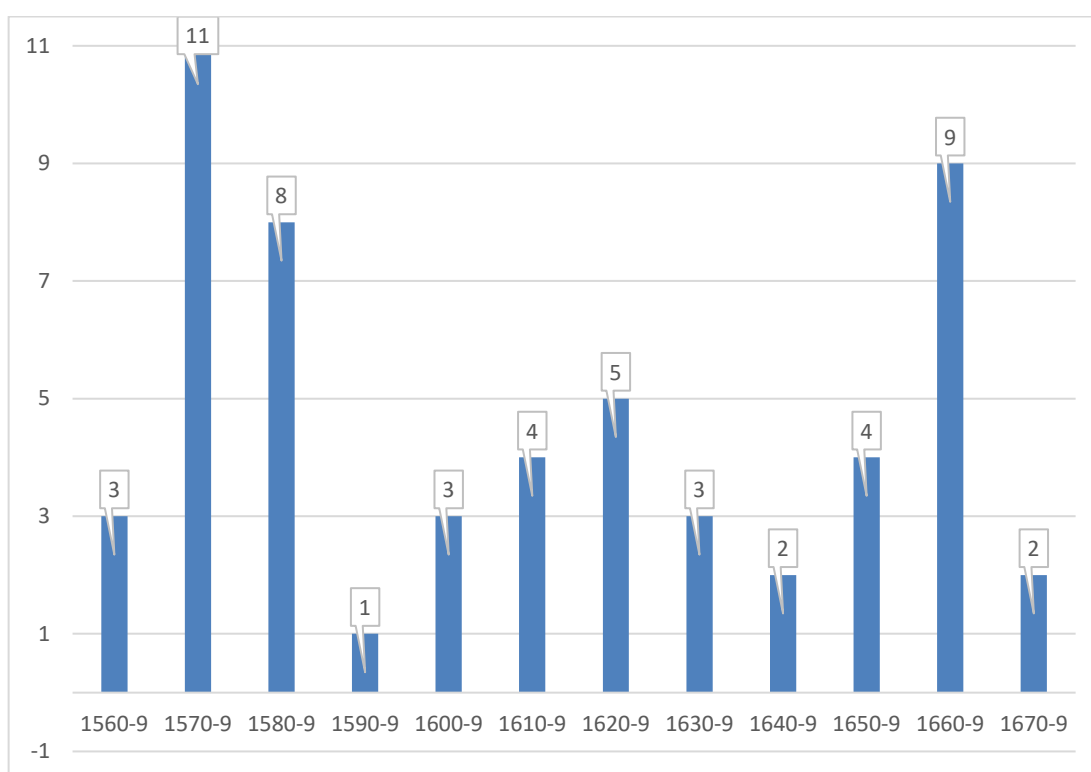
Another child worth mentioning is William Moses, born in St. Saviour, Southwark, the son of John, a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, but also recorded as a smith. His parents, along with two of his siblings, died of the plague sometime around 1625-6. William Moses was admitted to Christ's Hospital on 28 March 1632 and discharged on 25 August 1638, arriving at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1639. He was awarded a B.A. in 1644 and an M.A. in 1647. After a period as a tutor at Pembroke he was elected Master in 1655 and he oversaw an ambitious building and restoration project of the college. In 1660 he moved to Gray's Inn as a lawyer and in 1666 became solicitor to the East India Company. He died on 30 October 1688, having amassed a substantial fortune out of which he left bequests to establish exhibitions at Christ's Hospital and Pembroke College, Cambridge.¹³¹

The number who can be identified from the discharge records and other sources as going to either Oxford or Cambridge is shown in Figure 5-22. It can be seen that the peak decade for boys attending university was 1570-9, when a total of eleven boys went on to university. A table with details of Christ's Hospital alumni who attended university, and their post-university careers, where known, can be seen in appendix 1.

¹³⁰ Alan, *Admissions*, p. 43; Pearce, *Annals*, p. 268; Allan, *Exhibitioners*, p. 15; *ACAD*, PRSN566J.

¹³¹ C.R., vol.2, f. 143; Elisabeth Leedham-Green, 'Moses, William (1622-1688), serjeant-at-law', *ODNB* [accessed 30 Mar. 2020]; *ACAD*, MSS639W; TNA: PROB 11/393/258.

Figure 5-22: Number of boys attending university by decade



Miu Sugahara has examined the educational background of men with entries in the *ODNB* between 1601 and 1700 in order to analyse which grammar schools they attended. Christ's Hospital had sixteen alumni in the *ODNB*, nine of whom (56.25 per cent) were university graduates, the others having served an apprenticeship. The Merchant Taylors' School alumni by contrast had 106 entries in the *ODNB*, eighty-six of whom (81.13 per cent) had a university education. Forty-two of fifty-eight (72.41 per cent) St. Paul's school alumni listed in the *ODNB* had attended a university.¹³² This lower rate of university education at Christ's reflects the different institutional nature of the hospital and the ways in which children were admitted. Christ's Hospital was not primarily a school and the purpose of admission was not just for educational purposes, at least during the period covered by this thesis.

It is difficult to accurately assess how much money was expended supporting university scholars, as payments for exhibitions are only recorded in the treasurers' account books 1630-42. The first entry in 1630 recorded total payments of £3 19s 6½d for exhibitions and the largest payment was made in 1641, when £41 0s 1d was

¹³² Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, pp. 159-65, 183.

paid. The treasurers' accounts only list the total amount paid so it is not possible to know how many exhibitions these payments are for, nor the value of individual exhibitions.¹³³

Exhibitions were available to support university education from a number of sources. Some of the exhibitions available to boys from Christ's Hospital are shown in Figure 5-21, but this is not an exhaustive list. Some scholarships were not just available to Christ's Hospital boys, for example, the exhibitions endowed by Abraham Colfe. Abraham Colfe was the son of Richard Colfe, a Christ's Hospital boy who matriculated at Christ Church Oxford in 1569 and attained a B.A. on 26 February 1571/2, an M.A. on 5 May 1575, and a D.D. on 30 June 1608. Richard was vicar of various parishes in Berkshire and in 1608 prebendary and sub dean of Canterbury Cathedral. His career is outlined in Figure 5-28 in the appendix to this chapter.¹³⁴ His son Abraham was vicar of Lewisham from 1610 and founded a free grammar school there in 1652. On his death in 1656 he endowed seven exhibitions of £10 p.a. to either Oxford or Cambridge. The recipients of these were first to be chosen from the boys of Lewisham Grammar School, and if there were insufficient boys from there, then the exhibitions would be awarded to the sons of members of the Leathersellers' Company. If there were still not enough suitable boys, then the exhibitions were to go to King's School in Canterbury, and finally boys from Christ's Hospital, in recognition of Richard Colfe's education at Christ's Hospital.¹³⁵

Of seventeen university admissions from Christ's Hospital where the source of funding is known, ten (58.82 per cent) were from one of the livery companies: three from the Vintners' Company; two from the Clothworkers'; and one each from the Grocers', Drapers', Fishmongers', Haberdashers' and Salters'. Roger Smithe was 'Preferred to the University by the Haberdashers' on 17 February 1577/8,¹³⁶ whilst Gabriell Bowman was sent on 10 May 1580 'to Oxford from clothworkers'.¹³⁷ Other

¹³³ T.A., vol. 6, 1630/1.

¹³⁴ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 8, 40; Allan, *Exhibitioners*, p. 16; Colericke-Coverley in *Alumni*, ed. by Foster, pp. 304-337.

¹³⁵ William Hunt, and Vivienne Larminie, 'Colfe, Abraham (1580–1657), Church of England clergyman and benefactor, *ODNB* [accessed 22 December 2020]; *Liber Cantabrigiensis, An Account of the Aids Afforded to Poor Students*, ed. by Robert Potts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1855), p. 426.

¹³⁶ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 112.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 114.

exhibitions were offered by individuals, often as bequests in wills. Hugh Greene benefitted from two exhibitions given by Lady Mary Ramsey and Thomas Dutson. He was originally sent to Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1601 on an exhibition given as a part of Lady Ramsey's legacy, which proved to be insufficient to maintain him there. At a court in the same year additional money was approved to pay for bedding and it was also decided that the exhibition was insufficient and that 'wheras also there is yearlie given to maintain a scholar by Mr Thomas Dutson clothworker in the universitie to be paid by this house it is herewith ordered that the same shall be bestowed upon the said Hugh Greene for his better maintenance for that the gift of the Lady Ramsie is farr insufficient'. Greene graduated as B.A. in 1605 and M.A. in 1609, with the hospital providing financial support for his master's degree: 'Hugh Greene Batchelor of Arte and sometime one of the poor Children brought up in this house preferred his petition to this Courte for some consideration too bee had of his great charges hee is too sustaine in his Comencment to the degree of Master of Arte this courte hath granted him £12 in money with £5 in hand and the balance paid at midsommer next.'¹³⁸

Some of the known exhibitions endowed by individuals for which Christ's Hospital scholars were eligible, and the conditions attached to them, are listed in Figure 5-23, as published in Robert Potts' *Liber Cantabrigiensis*. It must be emphasised though that this is not a complete list of available exhibitions. The source of exhibition for individual Christ's Hospital scholars is also noted, where known, in Figure 7-1 in appendix 1 at the end of this thesis.

Figure 5-23: Endowed exhibitions available to Christ's Hospital alumni 1575-1667¹³⁹

Date	Name	University	Notes
1575	Thomas Dixon.	Oxf. or Camb.	£6 p.a.
1596	Lady Mary Ramsey.	6 Oxf. 6 Camb.	£20 p.a. to maintain 12 scholars
1601	Lady Mary Ramsey.	Peterhouse, Camb.	£40 p.a. for 4 scholars. Preference for C.H. alumni who intend to take holy orders

¹³⁸ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 156; Allan; *Exhibitioners*; p. 21; *ACAD*, GRN601H2; C.M.B., vol. 3 f. 6, 111.

¹³⁹ *Liber Cantabrigiensis*, ed. by Potts, pp. 209, 278, 457-8.

1633	Lady Catharine Barnardiston	St. Catherines Hall, Camb.	£400 to purchase land to fund 3 exhibitions 2 for C.H. alumni
1649	Mr. W. Richards.	Emmanuel College, Camb.	Left property to fund 2 exhibitions with preference to C.H. alumni
1652	William Rudge.	Cambridge	£150 to assist poor scholars from C.H.
1656	John Perryn.	Oxf. or Camb.	£5 p.a. towards maintenance of 1 scholar from C.H.
1656	Rev. Abraham Colfe.	Oxf. or Camb.	7 exhibitions of £10 p.a. for poor scholars from Lewisham grammar school. If none suitable from Lewisham then child of member of the Leathersellers' Co. can be chosen, next preference children from King's School Canterbury school, and fourth preference C.H. alumni.
1661	Thomas Stretchley.	Camb.	£7 p.a. to each of 2 scholars from C.H.
1662	John Browne.	Emmanuel College, Camb, Christ's College, Camb.	The rent of an estate in Islington to fund 6 exhibitions of £10 at Camb. 3 of which should be at Emmanuel and 3 at Christ's
1665	William Williams.	Oxf. or Camb.	£8 p.a.
1666	Erasmus Smith.	Oxf. or Camb	£100 p.a. to Mayor and commonality of London to be used partly to maintain C.H. alumni. Maximum £8 p.a.
1667	Thomas Barnes.	Camb.	8 exhibitions

In addition to the exhibitions available to alumni, ad hoc support for expenses was also made for scholars. In 1610 the court debated: 'Two of the children of this house at the universitie of cambridge who having an offer made them of the sale of certaine bookes at a very reasonable price... have written... to Mr Treasurer to moove this courte for their consente therin. It is ordered by this court that Mr Treasurer shall disburse the somme of tenne pounds'.¹⁴⁰ The governors sometimes showed a remarkable willingness to help former children of the hospital at university. William Heath, a child of the hospital, had been sent to Cambridge, and was maintained there by the hospital. He had been dismissed from Cambridge after 'falling into a course of ill life', and in 1622 was 'destitute of all means to helpe himselfe'. In a petition to the governors he asked for help and promised to change his behaviour. With the support

¹⁴⁰ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 120.

of Mr. Haines the schoolmaster, the governors granted him 40s and the promise of Mr. Haines to place him at Magdalen College, Oxford, ‘hoping hee would begin a new life’.¹⁴¹ Six months later, in November 1622, Heath was a student at Lincoln College Oxford, and the court discussed a further request for assistance from him. They were unwilling to do anything else for him until they had received a ‘good report from the college... concerning his good behaviour and Reformation of his former misdemeanors’.¹⁴² They received this and granted him 40s in March 1622/3.¹⁴³

The colleges attended are shown in Figure 5-24, where it can be seen that of fifty-five university admissions, thirty-two (58.18 per cent) were to Cambridge colleges, eleven of those to Peterhouse. The reason for the popularity of Peterhouse is probably due to the exhibitions available there from the benevolences given by Sir Thomas and Lady Mary Ramsey in 1583, when they conveyed the manor of Berden and the rectory of Clavering in Essex to support four scholarships of £10 each to Peterhouse.¹⁴⁴ The charitable bequests of the Ramseys to Christ’s Hospital are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Figure 5-24: University colleges attended by Christ’s Hospital alumni 1570-1671

Oxford		Cambridge	
Exeter	4	Peterhouse	11
St. John’s	4	Emmanuel	6
Christ Church	3	Pembroke	4
Magdalen Hall	3	Queens’	3
Broadgates Hall	2	Gonville & Caius	2
Unknown	2	Trinity	2
All Souls	1	Christ’s	1
Lincoln	1	Clare	1
Pembroke	1	King’s	1
St. Mary’s Hall	1	Magdalene	1
		St. John’s	1

¹⁴¹ Ibid, f. 278.

¹⁴² Ibid, f. 283.

¹⁴³ Ibid, f. 287.

¹⁴⁴ Ian W. Archer ‘Ramsey [née Dale; other married name Avery], Mary, Lady Ramsey (d. 1601), philanthropist’ *ODNB* [accessed 19 December 2020].

Where data is available on the post-university careers of Christ's Hospital alumni it shows that the majority had careers in the church. Of the fifty-five alumni listed in Figure 7-1 in appendix 1, post-university career information is available for thirty-five of them; twenty-nine of them (82.85 per cent) went on to have clerical careers, although those with clerical careers are more likely to have left a written record that can be traced. As noted above, Thomas and Mary Ramsey had endowed Christ's Hospital with the rectory of Clavering and manor of Berden in 1583, and on Sir Thomas's death in 1590, Dame Mary added to this with the manor of Colne Engaine, also in Essex.¹⁴⁵ With these came control of the appointments of vicars and rectors to certain parishes, such as Ugley in Essex and Colne Engaine. Former Christ's Hospital boys were sometimes appointed to these parishes, but not exclusively. Six rectors were appointed in the parish of Colne Engaine between 1629 and 1690, and three of them were Christ's Hospital alumni.¹⁴⁶ Joshua Barnes, the Greek scholar and former Christ's Hospital boy, complained in 1679 that the hospital was not granting these ecclesiastical livings to hospital alumni, and that some governors had 'prevail'd to obtain these very Livings for Kinsmen of their own; when at the same time, there have been Scholars of the Foundation every way more fit and qualify'd for the same'.¹⁴⁷ It is not known if Barnes' allegation is true, but the hospital did appoint outsiders to clerical livings, although they were prepared to turn down requests for benefices in favour of Christ's Hospital alumni. The Duke of Buckingham petitioned the hospital in 1626 to be allowed to nominate a candidate for the parish of Colne Engaine in Essex because the present incumbent was 'very aged and weake of body' and 'not likely to continue long with life'. He was turned down by the governors for the reason that they intended to appoint a man 'who was brought up in this house, and maintained at the University by the said Ladyes (Ramsey) guift'.¹⁴⁸ However, in another later instance in 1721, in order to curry favour with a benefactor to the hospital, an outside candidate was appointed to the vicarage of Ugley in Essex on the nomination of the Reverend Ferdinand Smythies, fellow of Queens' College Cambridge, over another candidate who was a Christ's Hospital alumnus because he

¹⁴⁵ Archer, 'Ramsey', *ODNB*.

¹⁴⁶ Colne Engaine *CCEd*, location ID 11219.

¹⁴⁷ Joshua Barnes, *An apology of the orphans of Christ's Hospital* (London, 1703), p. 12.

¹⁴⁸ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 279.

was ‘recommended by a person who hath already been a great Benefactor to the foundation, and who it is likely will be a greater Benefactor to it’.¹⁴⁹

Of the other university alumni, two went on to become schoolmasters, one a lawyer, one went to sea, one died at university and one (Joshua Barnes), was a Greek scholar.

5.4 Conclusion

As discussed at the start of this chapter, approximately 20 per cent of all discharge entries in the children’s register are blank. Of those entries where information has been entered the amount of useful information that can be extracted is variable: some entries contain only the year of discharge, while others give quite full information. It is difficult in most cases to gain a full picture of life after Christ’s Hospital, but in some cases, information can be gleaned from other sources, although invariably these children tend to be the ones who did well enough to merit an entry in the *ODNB*, Foster’s *Alumni Oxonienses*, or *ACAD*. The majority of the rest were probably destined for an apprenticeship with a tradesman of lower to middling rank, but most would have had at least the opportunity of attaining the freedom of the city, and ultimately setting up a household of their own.

The available data does, however, allow an impression to be formed of the type of institution that Christ’s was. We have seen that if apprenticeship or service arrangements did not work out children were able to return to the hospital and were found new masters, at least as far as the hospital was able, given the precarious state of its finances, which will be discussed in Chapter 6. The case of Thomas Colfe cited in the introduction to this chapter is an example of this. He was a foundling, ‘taken up in the streets’ in 1563 aged seven years, and discharged to apprenticeship on 6 December 1572 aged around sixteen, then re-admitted a few months later on 6 February 1573/4. He remained at Christ’s Hospital until he went to Broadgates Hall, Oxford with an exhibition from the Salters’ Company, matriculating on 23 July 1579 aged twenty, and attaining a B.A. on 22 February 1581/2 and an M.A. on 2 June 1584. He returned to London on 3 August 1588 to become rector of St. Mary Bothaw parish, and on 9 June 1600 was named vicar of Fulbrook chapel, Oxford, and

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

Burford, Oxfordshire.¹⁵⁰ Colfe was well above the prescribed age of discharge for the hospital at the time of his university admission, and the hospital demonstrated a level of concern for his future over and above its obligation. The case of Jane St. Thomas, discussed in section 5.2, also exemplifies this, where the matron was sent to retrieve a child placed in service on the report of a neighbour that the child was being mistreated, to be brought back and cared for in the sickward of the hospital. We also saw in section 5.2 that the hospital made very little use of the apprentice school at Bridewell to discharge children to, even when there was a shortage of apprentices there and it would have provided an easy placement and method of discharging its responsibilities.

It was noted that when the hospital started discharging children back to parents and other family members, it often provided financial help in the form of pensions at the same level as the wages paid to nurses looking after the younger children. Likewise, it was also evidenced that the hospital gave financial support to scholars at university over and above the value of their exhibitions, by granting *ex gratia* payments for books and other living expenses, as evidenced by the two scholars who, having written to the treasurer asking for assistance, were granted £10 to purchase books.¹⁵¹ The hospital also demonstrated remarkable forbearance in arranging an admission to Oxford for the scholar William Heath when he had been dismissed from Cambridge, after ‘falling into a course of ill life’.¹⁵²

The hospital was not of course able to help every child that came into its care. Twenty children were recorded in the discharge registers as having ‘run away’ and were not found and returned to the hospital. The much-increased population of children in the seventeenth century stretched the hospital’s resources, making it difficult to find direct placements for all the children, but even with limited resources, it managed to operate a policy of supporting children outside its boundaries where possible, demonstrating a willingness to ‘go the extra mile’ for the children in its care.

¹⁵⁰ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 52; Allan, *Exhibitioners*, p. 19; Colericke-Coverley in *Alumni*, ed. by Foster, pp. 304-337; *CCEd*, person ID 40469.

¹⁵¹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 120.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, f. 278

Appendix to chapter 5

Figure 5-25: Average age on discharge to apprenticeship, family, parish, other person and university (n=4,743)

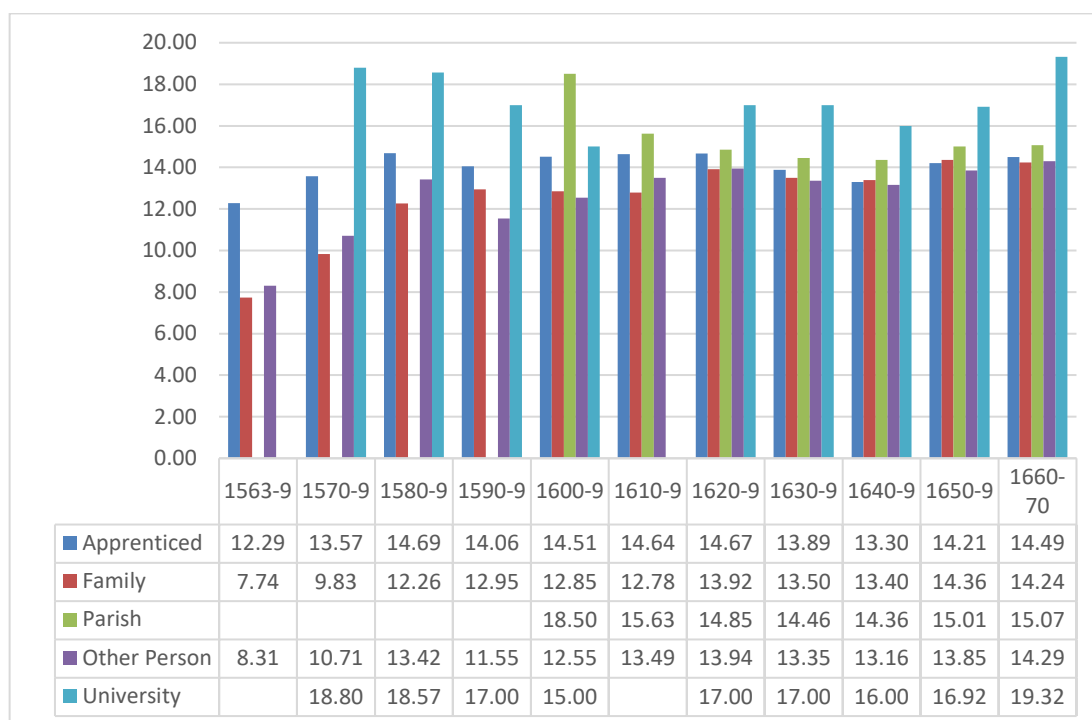


Figure 5-26: Discharge to apprenticeship, family and other person 1563-1599 (n=769)

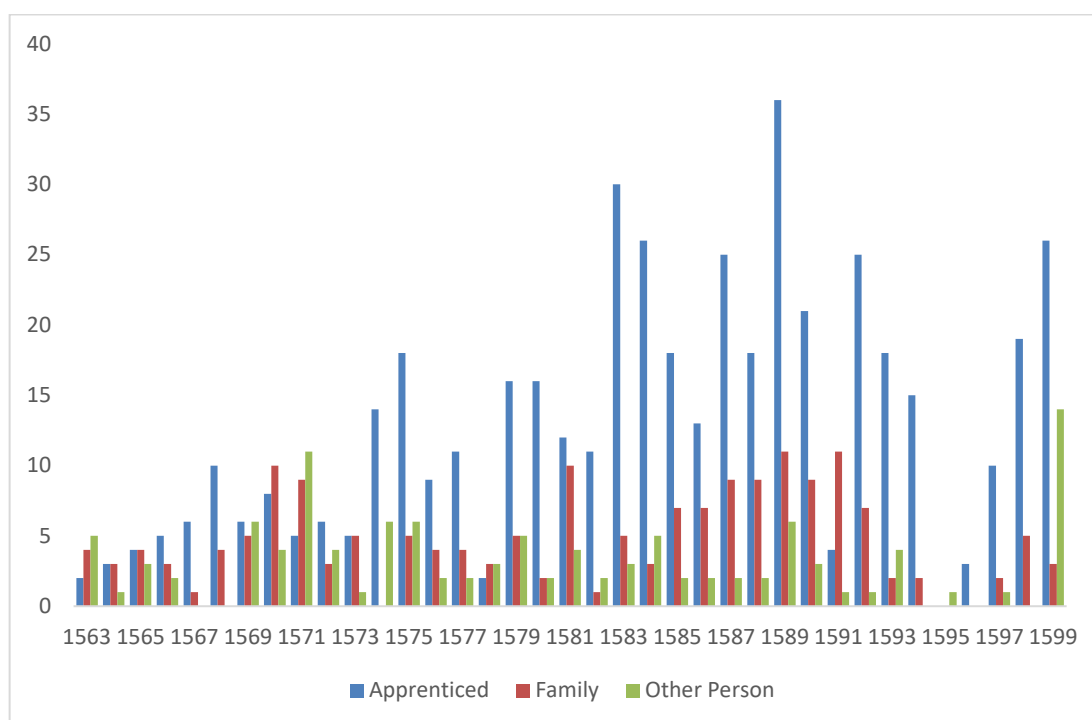


Figure 5-27: Discharges to apprenticeship, family, other person and parish 1600-70 (n=3,715)

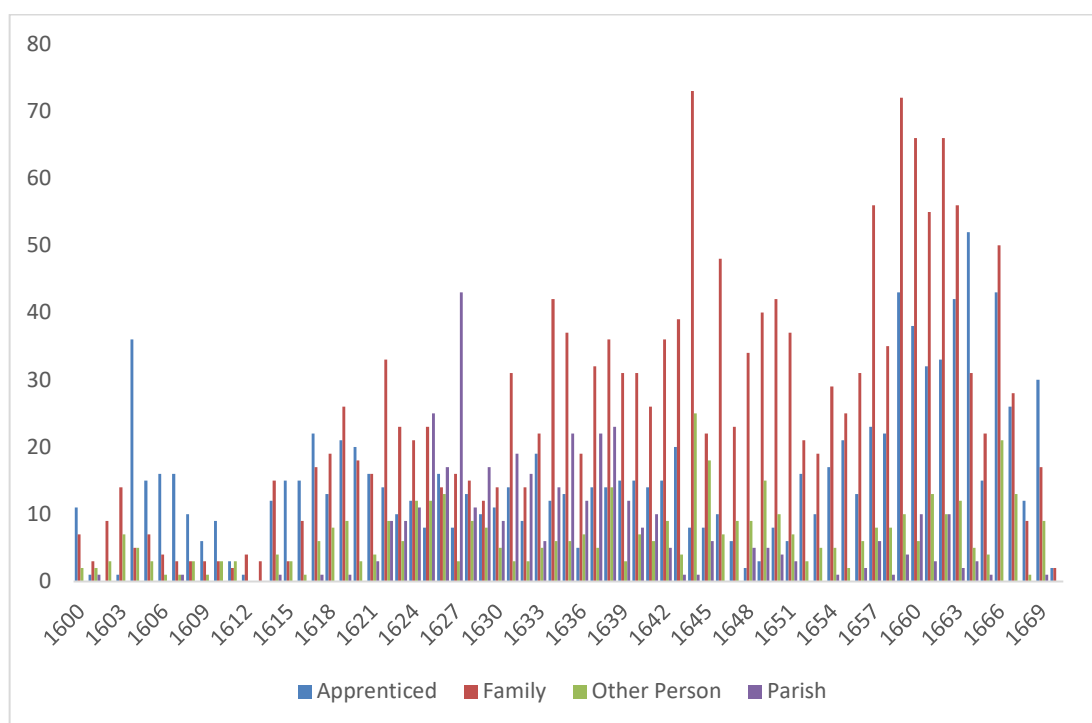


Figure 5-28: Occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed, 1563-99

Category	Occupation	Male	%	Female	%
Cloth & Clothing	Button Maker	3	0.87	1	1.18
	Clothman	3	0.87	0	0.00
	Clothworker	24	7.00	2	2.35
	Damasker	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Draper	20	5.83	1	1.18
	Dyer	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Felt Maker	1	0.29	1	1.18
	Girdler	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Glover	3	0.87	0	0.00
	Haberdasher	14	4.08	5	5.88
	Hatter	1	0.29	1	1.18
	Hosier	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Lace Maker	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Linen Weaver	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Mercer	7	2.04	1	1.18
	Merchant Taylor	25	7.29	7	8.24
	Milliner	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Shoemaker	13	3.79	1	1.18
	Silk Weaver	21	6.12	0	0.00
	Tailor	10	2.92	5	5.88
	Tailor & Draper	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Tapestry Maker	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Upholder	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Weaver	16	4.66	0	0.00

	Woolman	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Total	170	49.56	29	34.12
Victualling	Baker	2	0.58	1	1.18
	Brown Baker	1	0.29	0	0.00
	White Baker	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Brewer	3	0.87	4	4.71
	Cook	2	0.58	1	1.18
	Fishmonger	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Grocer	4	1.17	1	1.18
	Innholder	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Salter	3	0.87	1	1.18
	Tallow Chandler	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Victualler	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Vintner	4	1.17	1	1.18
	Water Bearer	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Wine Porter	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Total	27	7.87	11	12.94
Metal	Anchorsmith	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Armourer	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Aurisworker	4	1.17	0	0.00
	Blacksmith	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Coppersmith	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Cutler	5	1.46	0	0.00
	Founder	4	1.17	0	0.00
	Goldsmith	8	2.33	3	3.53
	Gun Maker	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Ironmonger	4	1.17	1	1.18
	Latten Founder	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Locksmith	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Needlemaker	6	1.75	2	2.35
	Pewterer	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Smith	2	0.58	1	1.18
	Total	43	12.54	8	9.41
Wood	Bowman	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Brush Maker	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Cooper	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Fletcher	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Joiner	9	2.62	0	0.00
	Sawyer	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Turner	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Total	15	4.37	2	2.35
Leather	Bridle Maker	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Cordwainer	7	2.04	0	0.00
	Cordwainer & Innkeeper	1	0.29	0	0.00

	Currier	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Leatherseller	6	1.75	0	0.00
	Skinner	4	1.17	1	1.18
	Tanner	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Total	21	6.12	1	1.18
Construction	Bricklayer	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Carpenter	2	0.58	2	2.35
	Joiner	0	0.00	2	2.35
	Painter	2	0.58	1	1.18
	Total	5	1.46	5	5.88
Mercantile & Professional	Auditor / Surveyor	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Bachelor of Divinity	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Barber Surgeon	7	2.04	1	1.18
	Clerk	3	0.87	0	0.00
	Doctor of Physic	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Lawyer	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Merchant	4	1.17	3	3.53
	Minister	0	0.00	2	2.35
	School Master	2	0.58	1	1.18
	Scrivener	4	1.17	0	0.00
	Stationer	9	2.62	2	2.35
	Total	33	9.62	9	10.59
Miscellaneous	Brownieman	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Chandler	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Chapel Master	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Chapman	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Docheman	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Gentleman	5	1.46	2	2.35
	Goon Maker		0.00	0	0.00
	Lute Maker	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Minstrel	3	0.87	0	0.00
	Musician	4	1.17	1	1.18
	Rope Maker	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Perfumerer	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Porter	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Sailor	2	0.58	1	1.18
	Ship Master	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Shireman	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Sick Woman	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Steward	2	0.58	0	0.00
	Wife	0	0.00	1	1.18
	Waterman	1	0.29	1	1.18
	Wayt	1	0.29	0	0.00
	Widow	3	0.87	8	9.41
	Yeoman	1	0.29	1	1.18

	Total	29	8.45	20	23.53

Figure 5-29: Occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed, 1600-34

Cloth & Clothing	Bodice Maker	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Button Maker	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Clothworker	11	4.53	0	0.00
	Draper	7	2.88	1	2.44
	Embroiderer	2	0.82	1	2.44
	Felt Maker	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Girdler	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Glover	4	1.65	1	2.44
	Haberdasher	8	3.29	3	7.32
	Hat Maker	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Mercer	3	1.23	1	2.44
	Merchant Taylor	30	12.35	3	7.32
	Shoemaker	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Silk Weaver	7	2.88	0	0.00
	Taylor	7	2.88	3	7.32
	Weaver	34	13.99	1	2.44
	Total	123	50.62	14	34.15
Victualling	Baker	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Brown Baker	1	0.41	0	0.00
	White Baker	4	1.65	0	0.00
	Butcher	3	1.23	0	0.00
	Cook	5	2.06	0	0.00
	Fruiterer	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Fishmonger	3	1.23	0	0.00
	Grocer	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Innholder	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Salter	3	1.23	0	0.00
	Tallow Chandler	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Vintner	2	0.82	1	2.44
	Total	29	11.93	1	2.44
Metal	Armourer	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Blacksmith	5	2.06	0	0.00
	Cutler	3	1.23	0	0.00
	Farrier	1	0.41	0	0.00
	File Cutter	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Founder	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Goldsmith	1	0.41	1	2.44
	Gun Maker	3	1.23	0	0.00
	Ironmonger	1	0.41	2	4.88
	Locksmith	1	0.41	0	0.00

	Loriner	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Pewterer	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Pin Maker	6	2.47	0	0.00
	Smith	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Total	28	11.52	3	7.32
Wood	Cooper	1	0.41	1	2.44
	Fletcher	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Joiner	6	2.47	3	7.32
	Woodmonger	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Total	9	3.70	4	9.76
Leather	Cordwainer	9	3.70	2	4.88
	Currier	0	0.00	1	2.44
	Leatherseller	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Skinner	6	2.47	0	0.00
	Total	16	6.58	3	7.32
Construction	Bricklayer	0	0.00	1	2.44
	Carpenter	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Labourer	0	0.00	2	4.88
	Mason	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Painter	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Painter Stainer	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Total	5	2.06	3	7.32
Mercantile & Professional	Apothecary	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Barber Surgeon	2	0.82	1	2.44
	Clerk	3	1.23	0	0.00
	Doctor of Physic	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Merchant	3	1.23	1	2.44
	Stationer	2	0.82	1	2.44
	Total	12	4.94	3	7.32
Miscellaneous	Basket Maker	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Cart Maker	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Chandler	1	0.41	1	2.44
	Gentleman	1	0.41	1	2.44
	Husbandman	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Knight	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Musician	4	1.65	0	0.00
	Rope Maker	4	1.65	0	0.00
	Sailor	0	0.00	1	2.44
	Ship Carpenter	1	0.41	0	0.00
	Shipwright	2	0.82	0	0.00
	Waterman	2	0.82	1	2.44
	Wheelwright	0	0.00	1	2.44
	Widow	0	0.00	4	9.76

	Yeoman	2	0.82	1	2.44
	Total	21	8.64	10	24.39

Figure 5-30: Occupations of masters to whom children were apprenticed, 1635-70

Cloth & Clothing	Bodice Maker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Button Maker	0	0.00	1	4.00
	Clothworker	6	2.20	0	0.00
	Coat Maker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Collar Maker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Dyer	4	1.47	0	0.00
	Glover	4	1.47	3	12.00
	Haberdasher	7	2.56	0	0.00
	Launderer	0	0.00	1	4.00
	Merchant Taylor	7	2.56	3	12.00
	Patten Maker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Petticoat Maker	0	0.00	1	4.00
	Sempster	0	0.00	7	28.00
	Shoemaker	11	4.03	0	0.00
	Silk Dyer	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Silk Stocking Weaver	3	1.10	0	0.00
	Silk Weaver	10	3.66	1	4.00
	Taylor	5	1.83	0	0.00
	Weaver	50	18.32	1	4.00
	Total	112	41.03	18	72.00
Victualling	Baker	0	0.00	1	4.00
	Brown Baker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Butcher	3	1.10	0	0.00
	Coffee Man	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Cook	4	1.47	0	0.00
	Fishmonger	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Grocer	4	1.47	0	0.00
	Poulter	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Salter	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Tallow Chandler	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Vintner	4	1.47	0	0.00
	Wax Chandler	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Total	23	8.42	1	4.00
Metal	Blacksmith	15	5.49	0	0.00
	Brazier	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Coppersmith	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Cutler	5	1.83	0	0.00
	Founder	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Gilder	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Goldsmith	2	0.73	0	0.00

	Gunsmith	3	1.10	0	0.00
	Ironmonger	1	0.37	1	4.00
	Total	31	11.36	1	4.00
Wood	Bowmaker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Cooper	3	1.10	0	0.00
	Fletcher	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Gun Stock Maker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Joiner	11	4.03	1	4.00
	Turner	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Woodmonger	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Total	19	6.96	1	4.00
Leather	Cordwainer	8	2.93	0	0.00
	Leatherseller	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Saddler	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Total	11	4.03	0	0.00
Construction	Bricklayer	6	2.20	0	0.00
	Carpenter	3	1.10	0	0.00
	Glazier	3	1.10	0	0.00
	Painter Stainer	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Pavior	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Plasterer	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Plumber	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Total	17	6.23	0	0.00
Mercantile & Professional	Apothecary	5	1.83	0	0.00
	Barber Surgeon	4	1.47	0	0.00
	Clerk	3	1.10	0	0.00
	Doctor of Physic	1	0.37	0	0.00
	East India Co.	7	2.56	0	0.00
	Merchant	9	3.30	0	0.00
	School Master	2	0.73	1	4.00
	Scrivener	3	1.10	0	0.00
	Stationer	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Surgeon	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Total	38	13.92	1	4.00
Miscellaneous	Barber	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Book Binder	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Chandler	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Clock Maker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Gardener	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Gentleman	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Horner	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Loomsmaker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Musician	3	1.10	0	0.00

	Potter	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Poulter		0.00	0	0.00
	Printer	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Ship's Captain	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Shipwright	2	0.73	0	0.00
	Trunk Maker	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Waterman	1	0.37	0	0.00
	Widow	0	0.00	3	12.00
	Total	22	8.06	3	12.00

Figure 5-31: Occupations to which both boys and girls were recorded as being apprenticed

Baker	Draper	Merchant	Skinner
Barber Surgeon	Dyer	Merchant Taylor	Smith
Bodimaker	Embroiderer	Musician	Stationer
Bricklayer	Embrother	Needle Maker	Taylor
Button Maker	Felt maker	Painter	Vintner
Carpenter	Fishmonger	Pin Maker	Waterman
Chandler	Fletcher	Sailor	Weaver
Clothworker	Glover	Salter	Widow
Cooper	Goldsmith	School Master	Yeoman
Cordwainer	Hat Maker	Shoemaker	
Currier	Mercer	Silk Weaver	

Chapter 6 Administration and finance

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 showed that the number of children being cared for by the hospital more than doubled over time: the maximum number of children to be cared for by the hospital was set at 400 in 1556, comprising 150 infants and 250 older children, but by 1590 the hospital was caring for 556 children, and the number reached a high point in 1658, when 1,002 children were being cared for.¹ This represented a substantial financial commitment on part of the hospital, as well as an administrative and logistical challenge. Through an examination of both the treasurer's account books and the court minute books, this chapter will examine the way in which the hospital was funded, and the administrative apparatus that enabled it to function.

Section 6.2 will describe the structure of the administration, followed by an assessment of the governors and paid officials and staff who were responsible for the day-to-day operations of the hospital. The various roles that they performed will also be described here. The decision-making process of the hospital, and the types of court that made these decisions and dealt with any problems will also be described here. The 1557 *Order of the Hospitals* vested control of Christ's Hospital in the 'Mayor, Commonality and Citizens' of the City, and this section will conclude with an examination of the relationship between the hospital and the City, and ask whether the 1557 statute was adhered to, and to what extent, in practice, Christ's Hospital became independent of the City.²

This chapter will then go on to examine the finances of the hospital, in section 6.3, beginning with a description of the way in which accounts were recorded at Christ's Hospital, and the way in which the finances were administered. Problems in extrapolating meaningful data from the treasurers' account books will also be highlighted here. Sections 6.4 and 6.5 will discuss the data on income and expenditure, showing that at its foundation the hospital was almost entirely reliant on parish and City collections for its income. This changed over the period in question

¹ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 139, T.A., vol. 2, 1590/1, [Anon.], *The 9th day of April 1658. A true report of the great number of poor children*.

² 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 83.

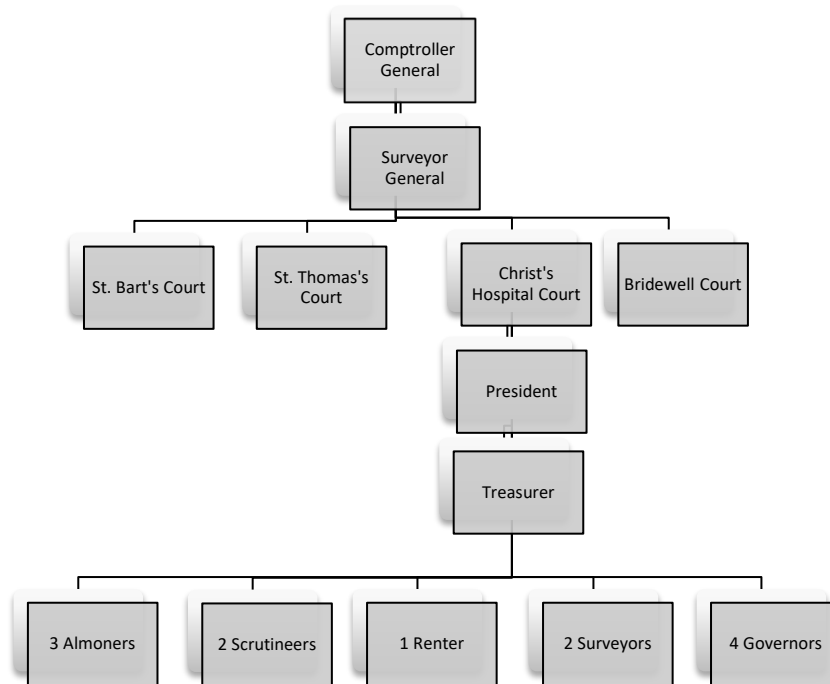
and, as a result of legacies it received the hospital built up a substantial property portfolio from which it funded its operation. This will be discussed further in section 6.4, where the income of the hospital will be scrutinised, as well as examining relationships with both the parishes and benefactors, noting the difficulties that were sometimes encountered in both relationships. It will be seen here that the financial role of the City, and the parishes of the city, diminished and that by the middle of the seventeenth century parish collections were no longer being received by the hospital which had become largely reliant on its own property holdings and the support of wealthy benefactors. The examination of the hospital's finances will conclude with an examination of expenditure in section 6.5.

6.2 Administration

Responsibility for running the hospital lay in the hands of the court of governors. The 1557 *Order of the Hospitals* ordained that there should be sixty-six governors for the four hospitals: fourteen aldermen and fifty-two commoners. Of the aldermen, six were to be 'graye cloakes' (men who had served as Lord Mayor) and the most senior of these was to be comptroller general of the four hospitals. The second most senior was to be surveyor general of the four hospitals. The remaining four 'graye cloakes' were each to act as president of one of the hospitals. The court of each hospital therefore comprised three aldermen and twelve members of the Court of Common Council, the treasurer being chosen from the Common Councilmen. Governors were required to serve for only two years and elections for all four hospitals were to be held at a general court on St. Matthew's Day (21 September) in Christ's Hospital; the Court of Aldermen was to ratify the result.³ At the same court, auditors for the hospitals were to be elected, four for each hospital comprising one alderman and three Common Councilmen. Figure 6-1 shows the administrative structure of the royal hospitals at their foundation in 1552.

³ Ibid, p. 84.

Figure 6-1: Structure of the administration in 1553



Although the number of governors was originally fixed at fourteen for each hospital, that number increased considerably over time. At the St. Matthew's Day general court of the four hospitals held on 21 September 1592, forty-eight governors were elected to serve at Christ's Hospital — nine aldermen and thirty-nine commoners. For Bridewell, forty-three governors were elected, twenty-eight for St. Bartholomew's, and twenty for St. Thomas's.⁴ This may have reflected the increasing size and complexity of the hospitals, although in practice the number of governors attending court meetings was variable, and often low. At a court on 23 February 1571/2 only 5 members were present, one alderman (Sir James Hawes), the treasurer (John Jackson) and three other common councilmen.⁵ Even following the increase in the number of elected governors in the 1590's, attendance was often low. A court on 25 June 1597 was only attended by the treasurer (John Cogan), and five common councilmen.⁶

The comptroller general had to be informed of every general court of the four combined hospitals, as well as the general courts of the individual hospitals, and the

⁴ C.M.B., vol. 3, ff. 1-3.

⁵ C.M.B., vol. 2, f. 70.

⁶ C.M.B., vol. 3 f. 32.

agenda for the court, 'So that it may be at his choise and plesure whether he will be there or not'.⁷ If he chose not to attend, a report on the meeting was to be delivered to him afterwards. He also received and retained the list of governors after every election, and the treasurers of each hospital were required to deliver to him annually, within six days of completion of the audit, 'the just and true foote of the accompte... with the number of children and pensioners.'⁸ How active the various comptroller generals were in the government of the hospitals is difficult to ascertain. The hospitals in any event became more autonomous by the end of the sixteenth century, and the joint court became largely ceremonial. The last comptroller general to be appointed was Sir Stephen Soame, who held the position from 1610-19. He was also president of Bethlem and Bridewell (1598-99) and surveyor general (1609-10).⁹ It appears that no further controller's were elected following his death in 1619. The average length of service was 6.77 years, the shortest being one year and the longest eleven years.

The surveyor general was the deputy of the comptroller general, being informed of court meetings 'the comptroller being not in towne', but it was also 'at his choise, whether he will be there or no'.¹⁰ Other than this he appears to have had no specific role or duties, although it may be seen as an apprenticeship for the more senior position. If Sir Martin Bowes, the first comptroller who served until 1566, is excluded there were eight further comptrollers, seven of whom had served as surveyor general in the year preceding their election to comptroller general. The last surveyor general was Sir John Garrarde who served in this role in 1611, after which no further appointments were made.¹¹

Being a governor of Christ's Hospital involved more than just attending court meetings. Various roles were allocated to individual governors, which were often time-consuming and required considerable commitment, although the extent to which individual governors involved themselves in the administration of the hospital

⁷ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 91.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Alfred P. Beaven, 'Chronological list of aldermen: 1501-1600', in *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III - 1912* (London: E. Fisher and Co., 1908), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-aldermen/hen3-1912> [accessed 5 December 2020], pp. 20-47.

¹⁰ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 91.

¹¹ Beaven, 'Chronological list: 1501-1600', in *Aldermen*, pp 20-47.

varied. As will be seen in section 6.3 governors also, on occasion, made loans to the hospital in times of financial hardship. The various roles carried out by governors are considered below.

The role of president for each of the hospitals was defined in 1557 as ‘chief ruler and governor, next unto the Lord Mayor’.¹² It is significant that the Lord Mayor is recorded as having ultimate authority, indicating that the intention was always for the hospitals to be under the ultimate control of the City. The president was not required to be present at all court meetings but was obliged to attend the general court of all the hospitals on St. Matthew's Day, and at any court at which significant decisions were to be made: ‘Without his person shall no weightie matter be determined or agreed upon’.¹³ Sir Wolstan Dixie, president 1590-4, attended no meetings at all in the year 1592/3,¹⁴ whereas Sir William Craven, president 1611-18, attended most meetings.¹⁵

Presidents of Christ's Hospital were drawn from the elite of the City, and as noted above were required to have served as Lord Mayor before their presidency. Of the twenty-two presidents between 1553-1684 all but one fulfilled this requirement, the exception being Sir John Cordell (president 1643-8), who had served previously as sheriff.¹⁶ This may reflect the disruption caused by the outbreak of the English Civil War. Figure 6-2 lists the presidents of Christ's Hospital in the period 1533-1638, and any other offices held by them.

Figure 6-2: Presidents of Christ's Hospital 1553-1683¹⁷

Name	Guild	President	Mayor	Other
Sir George Barnes	Haberdasher	1553	1552-3	
Sir Thomas Offley	Merchant Taylor	1559	1556-7	Surveyor General 1567-72, Comptroller General 1572-82
Sir Thomas Ramsey	Grocer	1582-90 (d. 1590)	1577-8	
Sir Wolstan Dixie	Skinner	1590-4 (d. 1594)	1585-6	Pres Bethlem & Bridewell 1589

¹² ‘Order of the hospitals’, in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 91.

¹³ Ibid, p. 92.

¹⁴ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 43.

¹⁵ Ian W. Archer ‘Craven, Sir William (c. 1545–1618), merchant and local politician’ *ODNB* [accessed 19 December 2020].

¹⁶ Beaven, ‘Chronological list: 1601-1650’, in *Aldermen*, pp. 47-75.

¹⁷ Beaven, ‘Chronological list: 1501-1700’, in *Aldermen*, pp. 20-119.

Sir Richard Martin	Goldsmith	1594-1602	1589 & 1594	CG 1594-1602
Sir Stephen Slany	Skinner	1602-8 (d. 1608)	1595-6	Surveyor General 1604-8, Pres Bethlem & Bridewell 1599-1600
Sir Humphrey Weld	Grocer	1609-10 (d. 1610)	1608-9	
Sir William Craven	Merchant Taylor	1611-8 (d. 1618)	1610-11	
Sir John Leman	Fishmonger	1618-32 (d. 1632)	1616-7	
Sir Martin Lumley	Draper	1632-4 (d. 1634)	1623-4	
Sir John Gore	Merchant Tailor	1634	1624-5	
Sir Hugh Hamersley	Haberdasher	1634-6 (d. 1636)	1627-8	
Sir Christopher Clitherow	Ironmonger	1637-41 (d. 1641)	1635-6	
Sir Richard Gurney	Clothworker	1641-3	1641-2	
Sir John Cordell	Mercer	1643-8 (d. 1649)	Sheriff 1634-5	
Sir John Gayer	Fishmonger	1648-9 (d. 1649)	1646-7	
Sir John Wollaston	Goldsmith	1649-58 (d. 1658)	1643-4	Pres. Bethlem & Bridewell 1642-9
Sir Thomas Vyner	Goldsmith	1658-60	1653-4	
Sir Thomas Atkyn	Mercer	1660-1	1644-5	
Sir John Fowke	Haberdasher	1661-2 (d. 1662)	1652-3	
Sir John Frederick	Barber-Surgeon	1662-83 (d. 1684)	1661-2	

Presidents of the hospital were prominent in the commercial and political life of the city, as a brief look at the lives and careers of a selection of presidents shows.

Sir Wolstan Dixie (president 1590-4) was a wealthy merchant. He served an apprenticeship with Geoffrey Walkden, a merchant adventurer, and gained his freedom in 1555. He traded mainly in France and the Netherlands and his increasing subsidy assessments, from £50 in 1559 to £400 in 1589, indicate a steady accumulation of wealth. He was Master of the Skinners' Company on seven occasions. He served for approximately eleven years on the Court of Common Council (1559-1570) before being elected to the Court of Aldermen in 1574. Dixie was Sheriff (1575-6) and Lord Mayor (1585-6), following which he was knighted in 1586. He also served as president of Bethlem and Bridewell in 1589, and surveyor general for the hospitals (1592-4). On his death in 1594 he left charitable bequests of

£4,484 13s, including leaving the manor of Southwick to Christ's Hospital and £700 to the Company of Skinners to establish a school for poor scholars in Market Bosworth.¹⁸

Sir Richard Martin (president 1594-1602) was an eminent goldsmith: he was a supplier to Elizabeth I and also warden of the mint. He served four times as prime warden of the Goldsmith's Company. In addition to his activities as a goldsmith he also owned a salt works and had overseas trading interests. He became an Alderman in 1578 and served as Sheriff 1581-2, and Lord Mayor in 1589 and 1594. He was knighted in 1589. In addition to his presidency of Christ's Hospital he also served as comptroller general for the hospitals 1594-1602.¹⁹

The longest serving president was Sir John Leman who was in post from 1618 until his death in 1632. He was born in Saxlingham, Norfolk, but lived in London for most of his adult life. Unusually he never married. He was free of the Company of Fishmongers, of which he was prime warden in 1605. Leman was elected alderman for Portsoken ward on 15 August 1605, serving there until 1616. He then transferred to Langbourn ward in 1616, serving for one year before moving to Cornhill, where he remained until his death in 1632. He served as Sheriff (1606-7) and Lord Mayor (1616-7) being knighted on 9 March 1617. Leman was noted both for his generous philanthropic benefactions and for his lavish hospitality when entertaining at his house near Billingsgate. His mayoralty was noted for a particularly lavish mayoral pageant. On his death, Christ's Hospital was bequeathed land at Whitechapel valued at £2,000. St Bartholomew's and Bridewell benefitted from smaller legacies totalling £150, several London parishes received money for the poor and the residents of the almshouses of the Fishmongers' Company received provision for sea coal. He also left land in Suffolk worth at least £800 for the founding of a free school for forty-eight children in Beccles. He was buried in the church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane.²⁰

¹⁸ Ian W. Archer, 'Dixie, Sir Wolstan (1524/5–1594), merchant and administrator, mayor of London' *ODNB* [accessed 4 Feb 2017].

¹⁹ C.E. Challis, 'Martin, Sir Richard (1533/4–1617), goldsmith', *ODNB* [accessed 4 Feb 2017]; Beaven, *Aldermen*, pp 20-74.

²⁰ Robert Ashton, 'Leman, Sir John (1544–1632) merchant and mayor of London', *ODNB* [accessed 6 March 2017]; Beaven, *Aldermen* pp 20-74.

Sir Christopher Clitherow (president 1637-41) was also a wealthy merchant. A member of the East India Company from 1601, he was deputy governor from 1624-1635 and governor from 1638-41. His political offices in the city began as churchwarden of St. Andrew Undershaft in 1612. He was a member of the Court of Common Council by 1623 and elected Alderman for Aldersgate ward in 1626. Clitherow served as Sheriff (1625-6) and Mayor (1635-6). He was an M.P. for London (1628-9) and also served as Master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1618.²¹

Sir John Wollaston (president 1649-58) was born in Tettenhall, Staffordshire. He was apprenticed to Edward Greene, a London goldsmith, in 1604 and gained his freedom in 1611. He entered the livery in 1622, having married Rebecca, the daughter of his former master, in 1616. In 1624 he gained the office of Melter in the royal mint, and subsequently began to amass considerable wealth. He rose to prominence in city government and was a Common Councilman by 1630, and a member of the City Lands Committee (1631-3). Wollaston served as Sheriff (1638-9) and was elected alderman for the ward of Farringdon Without on 5 February 1639/40; he served as Mayor, 1643/4. He was President of Bethlem and Bridewell between 1642-9, and of Christ's Hospital from 1649 until his death on 26 April 1658. He had a house in London and extensive property in Middlesex from which, on his death, an annuity of £100 per annum was bequeathed to Christ's Hospital.²²

The president had limited involvement in the day-to-day operations of the hospital, which were largely under the control of the treasurer, who was elected from amongst the governors. The treasurer was always a Common Councilman and was an important and powerful member of the Court, responsible for paying bills and keeping track of the income of the hospital. Treasurers were supposed to serve for two years but in reality, most served for longer periods: of the fourteen treasurers between 1552 and 1666 only two gave up the position after two years. The longest serving was Robert Cogan, who was treasurer from 1593 to 1611, a period of eighteen years.

²¹ Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics, 1625-43* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 296; Andrew Thrush 'Clitherow, Sir Christopher (1577/8–1641), merchant and politician', *ODNB* [Accessed 25 Sep. 2020]; Beaven, *Aldermen*, pp. 20-74.

²² Lindley, Keith, 'Wollaston, Sir John (1585/6–1658), mayor of London', *ODNB* [Accessed 25 Sep. 2020]; Beaven, *Aldermen*, pp. 153-65; TNA: PROB 11/276/248.

The treasurer had to be a man of substance as he was required to give a great deal of time and commitment to the hospital: 'Forasmuch as your office must of necessitie be an office of much paines and attendance, by reason whereof yow shall have occasion to be oftner in the hospitall.'²³ No remuneration or reward was paid, a point clarified by the Court of Aldermen in 1610 when it was proposed by the governors of Bridewell that the outgoing treasurer, John Pollard, should be rewarded for his long service. The Court of Aldermen responded that:

albeit the court were of opinion that his service deserved much commendation, yet after deliberate consideration they resolved that it was not fit to make any such precedent, that men that serve in such places of rule and government should be rewarded for their services out of the revenues of the hospitals, which are given to be employed for charitable and good uses, or other gratifications whatsoever, but that, according to ancient custom of the city, a treasurer should continue but two years in any such place and then be removed, and a new treasurer elected, and for those two years to perform his service gratis.²⁴

In his study of the 'rulers' of Elizabethan London, Frank Freeman Foster proposed five categories: the elite; the notables; the leaders; the other aldermen; and the other Common Councilmen. Foster categorised the ruling class according to the number and type of City offices held. The 'elite' category comprises aldermen who served as Lord Mayor; 'notables' were men who had at least four civic offices, and had served on at least five ad hoc committees; and leaders were those who had held up to three offices, or who had served on up to five ad hoc committees.²⁵ Of the eight treasurers who fall into the time period covered by Foster, four are categorised as notables and four as leaders. Being treasurer of one of the hospitals was an important step in ascending the hierarchy of city governance. Foster describes being a governor of one of the hospitals as 'the first important civic office', and treasurer or auditor the second.²⁶ There is however a flaw in this argument when applied to Christ's Hospital. It would be expected that at some later stage treasurers would be elected aldermen, and this was not the case. Of the fourteen treasurers who served between 1552 and 1666 only one, John Harper, possibly became an alderman. Harper was treasurer at Christ's between 1624 and 1632, and in 1650 a John Harper was elected

²³ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 94.

²⁴ *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, p.21.

²⁵ Foster, *Politics*, pp. 13-14.

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 60-61.

alderman;²⁷ I have not been able to conclusively ascertain that this was the same person. He did, however, leave money to Christ's on his death in 1667.²⁸ This is in marked contrast to former treasurers of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, fourteen of whom became aldermen in the same period. Similarly, nine of the treasurers at St. Thomas's later became aldermen. The treasurers from the court of Bridewell and Bethlem only produced one alderman between them.²⁹ Becoming treasurer of Christ's Hospital appears to have been a destination, rather than a stage on the journey, although as will be noted below some were active within their companies, and some served as warden of their companies. There is no obvious explanation for this disparity between the hospitals, but the treasurers who achieved alderman status from St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's had served relatively short periods compared with the treasurers of Christ's: at St. Bartholomew's the average tenure was two-and-a-half years, at St. Thomas's three years, and at Christ's seven years.

Although being treasurer of Christ's Hospital required a substantial commitment some were also concurrently active within their companies. Richard Grafton (treasurer 1552-7) served as warden of the Grocers' Company in 1555, and William Norton (treasurer 1582-93) served as Master of the Stationers' Company in 1586/7.

One possible explanation for the longer service at Christ's is the complexity of the task that faced treasurers there compared with that at the other hospitals. In addition to the administration of a growing institution, Christ's Hospital was, until 1598, the administrative centre for all city and parish collections for the poor. The treasurer determined what proportion of the collection was retained by the parishes to provide their own relief and was also responsible for the annual inspection and licensing of pensioners. The treasurer, along with one other governor, was responsible for arranging apprenticeships for children leaving the hospital, and the discharge records, as shown in Chapter 5, reflect this, often showing the treasurer as the person to whom the child was formally apprenticed. Nineteen children were recorded as being apprenticed to Robert Cogan during his term as treasurer, often with a note

²⁷ Beaven, *Aldermen*, pp. 20-47.

²⁸ TNA: PROB 11/323/425.

²⁹ Beaven, *Aldermen*, pp. 20-47.

such as ‘and by him turned over to Humphrey Alexander pinmaker for the said term’.³⁰

The treasurer was also required to undertake duties that might be seen to be City, rather than hospital, business. He was required to ‘examine all single women... with childe; and cause the parties whom they accuse to be sent for... to see the same childe kept from the charge of this citie and hospitalls; and to see the woman provided for, from that tyme untill she be delivered and churched’.³¹ He also had the power and authority to question:

all such beggers, vagabondes, strumpets, or single women gotten with childe, and other personnes that shall happen to be taken and brought before you by the bedles, or els sent by the alderman, deputie, or cunstable of any warde of this city ; and them to examine, comit to prison, reprove, banishe, put to labour, punishe, or being diseased, to admit into the hospitals at your discretion. And your warrant in sending any to the hospitalls shalbe sufficient to the hospituler, for the receaving of the same.³²

It was not unusual for treasurers to serve as governors of other hospitals. Richard Grafton, the first treasurer, served at Christ’s Hospital until 1557, and was then a governor at Bridewell until 1561. Richard Buckland was treasurer of Christ’s 1557-59 then governor of Bridewell between 1562 and 1572, and Thomas Hall was a governor of St. Bartholomew’s from 1566 to 1574 before becoming treasurer at Christ’s Hospital.³³

Detailed biographical information on those who served is difficult to find, but those for whom information is available may provide some insight into the type of men who served as treasurer. Of the thirteen treasurers for whom it was possible to ascertain their livery company, eleven were free of the one of the great twelve livery companies. The first treasurer was Richard Grafton, who was free of the Grocers’ Company, but is best known as a printer and writer. Grafton had his printing press within the precincts of Christ’s Hospital, although this arrangement predated the foundation of the hospital. Grafton was printer to Prince Edward and subsequently to

³⁰ C.R., vol. 1, f. 267.

³¹ ‘Order of the hospitals’, in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 90.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³³ Manzione, *Christ’s Hospital*; p. 174; Foster, *Politics*, p. 165; Manzione, *Christ’s Hospital*; p. 165; Foster, *Politics*, p. 165; Manzione, *Christ’s Hospital*; p. 175; Foster, *Politics*, p. 166

King Edward VI on his accession to the throne. He lost favour with the Crown on the accession of Mary, but remained an influential figure in city politics. He was warden of the Grocers' Company in 1555 and sat in parliament as a London M.P. in 1553-54, and again in 1557. He was also M.P. for Coventry in 1563 and served a second term as warden of the Grocers' Company between 1563-64. Ironically for a treasurer, Grafton was financially inept and accrued personal debt. The Court of Aldermen investigated his conduct as treasurer in 1561 but no impropriety was found.³⁴ In 1564 Grafton owed three years rent for his printing house at Christ's Hospital and one tenement. He was ordered to leave.³⁵

William Norton was treasurer between 1582 and 1593. He was free of the Company of Stationers and elected to the livery in 1561. He was renter warden to the company 1563-5 and Master 1581-2 and 1586-7. He began a third term as Master in 1593 but died before the end of his term of office in 1594. He left land to the hospital in his will, charged with an annuity to the Stationers' Company.³⁶

Figure 6-3: Treasurers of Christ's Hospital 1552-1679

Name	Guild	Treasurer	Notes	Foster Category
Richard Grafton ³⁷	Grocer	1552-7	Gov. Bridewell 1557-61	Notable
Richard Buckland ³⁸	Haberdasher	1557-9	Gov. Bridewell 1562-72	Notable
Anthony Cage ³⁹	Salter	1559-61		Notable
John Jackson ⁴⁰	Founder	1561-73		Leader
William Leonard ⁴¹	Mercer	1573-73	Died 1573 1 month after taking office	Notable
Thomas Hall ⁴²	Salter	1573-82	Gov. St. Bart's 1566-74	Leader
William Norton ⁴³	Stationer	1582-93		Leader
Robert Cogan ⁴⁴	Clothworker	1593-1614	Gov. St. Bart's 1582-7 & 1592-3	Leader

³⁴ Meraud Grant Ferguson, 'Grafton, Richard (1506/7–1573), printer and historian', *ODNB* [accessed 3 June 2016].

³⁵ R. Mark Benbow, *Notes to index of London Citizens Involved in Government, 1558-1603* (Waterville (ME): The author, 1993) vol. 1, p.382.

³⁶ TNA: PROB 11/83/1.

³⁷ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*; p. 174; Foster, *Politics*, p. 165.

³⁸ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*; p. 165; Foster, *Politics*, p. 165.

³⁹ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*; p. 166; Foster, *Politics*, p. 165.

⁴⁰ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*; p. 179; Foster, *Politics*, p. 166.

⁴¹ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*; p. 181; Foster, *Politics*, p. 165.

⁴² Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*; p. 175; Foster, *Politics*, p. 166.

⁴³ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*; p. 184; Foster, *Politics*, p. 166.

⁴⁴ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*; p. 168; Foster, *Politics*, p. 166.

William Dale ⁴⁵		1614-14?		
Richard Heath ⁴⁶	Mercer	1614-24		
John Harper ⁴⁷	Fishmonger	1624-32		
John Hawes ⁴⁸		1632-8		
John Babington ⁴⁹	Salter	1638-52		
Richard Glyd ⁵⁰	Mercer	1652-62		
William Gibbon ⁵¹	Goldsmith	1662-79		

Three almoners were chosen from amongst the governors. The length of time that almoners were expected to serve is not specified in the *Order of the Hospitals*, nor for any other positions that governors took on for the hospital, but as governors were expected to serve for two years, as discussed above, it can be assumed that this would be the maximum expectation of their service. The almoners' responsibility was to monitor the number of children within the hospital and at nurse in the country and oversee the care of the children. They were charged with ensuring that the children were adequately fed and cared for, and monitoring the nurses and officers of the house to ensure that they carried out their duties diligently. The schoolmasters of the hospital were also subject to inspection by the almoners, who could discipline staff for misdemeanours and, if improvement was not forthcoming, refer them to the full court to 'be discharged, to their shame and reproch for ever'.⁵² The court minute books have numerous entries relating to staff discipline, some of which presumably came about through the work of the almoners. Peter Wamman, the writing school master, was called to the court in October 1607, where he was admonished for negligence in teaching. The court ordered that 'if between this and our lady day next the Governors shall find him to continue in his said negligent teaching... hee shall be then dismissed from his place'.⁵³

⁴⁵ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 303.

⁴⁶ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 303; Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding, 'St. Pancras Soper Lane 145/2', *Historical Gazetteer of London Before the Great Fire Cheapside; Parishes of All Hallows Honey Lane, St Martin Pomary, St Mary Le Bow, St Mary Colechurch and St Pancras Soper Lane* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1987), pp. 657-661, *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-gazetteer-pre-fire/pp657-661>.

⁴⁷ Pearce, *Annals*, p. 303.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 95.

⁵³ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 103.

One scrutineer was chosen, the primary function of whom was to raise money for the hospital, in addition to the parish collections. He had to ensure that any legacies and benevolences were collected and passed on to the treasurer, recording the same in a book which he was required to present annually to the auditors of the accounts. The hospital made an annual payment to the prerogative court in Canterbury for details of legacies it had received. An important aspect of the scrutineer's role was to encourage donations and exhort citizens to remember the hospital when writing their wills. This was done by fostering relationships with those in a position of influence with the citizenry, particularly the wardens of the Scriveners' Company and the Bishop of London. The wardens of the Scriveners' Company were urged to encourage their members when writing wills to 'put the testatour in remembrance to comend somewhat to the releife of the poore provided for in the said hospitall', and the Bishop of London to instruct clergy within the city to 'stirre up from tyme to tyme their parishioners to yeld and give to the maintenance of the said hospitalls wekely that they have graunted; but also, when God by sickness shall visit or call any of their parishe, that then they faile not to put them in remembrance to make some special legacie, to the reliefe of that great and nedy number comforted and succored by th' erection of the said hospitals'. The bishop was also asked to require all preachers at St. Paul's Cross that they 'twise or thrise in the quarter at the leaste, doe moue and exhort the people to further the said worke'.⁵⁴

Two surveyors were chosen from the governors; their responsibility was to conduct a survey of property belonging to Christ's Hospital every March with details of the lease, tenant and any repairs necessary, and to then report at the next court so it could decide on a course of action. In May 1655 Abraham Church, a tenant of the hospital, was summoned to appear because part of his house 'was ready to fall downe and if there was a strong post forthwith set upp it would for the present support the same'.⁵⁵ The renter was a governor appointed for one year to collect quarterly rents due on the hospital's properties. He was also charged with ensuring ongoing repairs were carried out.

⁵⁴ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 95.

⁵⁵ C.M.B., vol 5, p. 374.

Four auditors for each hospital were chosen at the St. Matthew's Day court of all the hospitals, comprising one alderman and three common councilmen, although it is not specified if these were serving governors. The alderman chosen was the most senior of the aldermen elected who had not served as Lord Mayor. The auditors were charged with inspecting the annual treasurer's accounts, as well as the books of the renter and any other financial records of the hospital.⁵⁶ Although four auditors were specified in the *Order of the Hospitals*, the exact number varied.⁵⁷ At the general court in September 1592 only three auditors were chosen, none of them aldermen, and when the annual accounts were audited for the 1602/03 year, ten auditors signed the accounts.⁵⁸ On 25 May 1657, nine auditors signed the accounts.⁵⁹

Whilst the governors were responsible for the overall management of the hospital, the day-to-day running of the house was in the hands of paid employees. The various jobs are detailed below in the order in which they are listed in the 1557 *Order of the Hospitals*.

Of all the officers of the house, the clerk was the most powerful and his duties were many and varied. He was required to be 'continually attendant here in this howse, or some other convenient person at your appointment, such as yow will answer for, to attend as well upon the president, the thresorer and governors, wheresoever they shalbe, heere or elsewhere, about the affairs of the howse'.⁶⁰ The clerk kept the various records of the hospital, including the children's registers, records of the nursing staff, the pension book (in which pension payments were recorded) and also a monthly record of

all your receipts and paiments receued and paid in euey moneth ; (that is to say) boord wages paid weekely to the matron, and nurses; necessaries for the housholde, pencioners paid in this howse, with every of their names recited ; and the seuerall pencions, with a just accompt what is every weeke due to any of them : and also the like for children abroad at nurse ... And at every quarters end the fees and wages of officers; as be also entered into iiij of their books.⁶¹

⁵⁶ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 85.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ T.A., vol. 2, 1602/3.

⁵⁹ T.A., vol. 9, 1657/8.

⁶⁰ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 98.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 99.

In addition, the clerk compiled the annual accounts for the hospital prior to audit. The double-entry bookkeeping system used was introduced by one of the early clerks, James Peele, who was clerk from 1562 until his death in 1585. This demonstrates the importance of the clerk, who could make decisions rather than just follow instructions from the treasurer. Peele also wrote two books on bookkeeping, the first published in 1553, indicating that he was employed for his expertise.⁶² The clerk was also empowered to collect certain monies and make some payments in lieu of the treasurer, but he was required to account for this monthly to the treasurer.⁶³

Perhaps the most important record-keeping function of the clerk was the court minutes. The clerk was present at all meetings to record the proceedings. The minutes were read out by the clerk at the end of each meeting, 'that the governors may perceave thereby, whether yow have entred all things to their mindes or not'.⁶⁴ The clerk was charged to keep secret the proceedings of the court. He received £10 per annum in salary plus livery in 1553,⁶⁵ but by 1623 the salary had risen considerably. Thomas Stephenson was appointed clerk in 1623 following the death of the previous incumbent John Bannister. Stephenson had been under-clerk for some years previously and was given a salary of £30 per annum to be paid quarterly. He was also given a house, as well as an allowance of £8 for two of his children, 8d for every child admitted into any of the Christ's Hospital schools who were not hospital children, profits derived from the making of leases in the counting house and four 'chaldrons' of fuel a year.⁶⁶ In 1657/8 the clerk William Parrey was still paid a £30 stipend but any other benefits he received are not listed.⁶⁷ He was still in post in 1666/7 when his payment had increased considerably to £74 8s, although there is no breakdown in the accounts as to how this was made up.⁶⁸

The clerk was more than the bookkeeper for the hospital, and he was often involved in other work for the governors. When the mayor of Hertford in 1662 complained of the behaviour of the nurses and children of Christ's Hospital and 'their gloaning

⁶² Basil S. Yamey, 'Peele, James (d. 1585) writer on bookkeeping', *ODNB* [accessed 11 March 2017].

⁶³ 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 92.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶⁵ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 35.

⁶⁶ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 307.

⁶⁷ T.A., vol. 9, 1657/8.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1666/7.

begging and otherwayes misbehaveing themselves',⁶⁹ it was the clerk William Parrey who was sent to deal with the problem, rather than one of the governors. Similarly, when the governors were summoned to appear before the Commissioners for the regulation of the Corporation Act in the same year, William Parrey was sent to represent them.⁷⁰

In view of the clerk's large responsibility for the collection and payment of money, the opportunity for dishonesty was considerable, but apart from Richard Wilson in 1593 who 'deceived the hospital of great sommes of money',⁷¹ there do not seem to have been any problems. There are frequent entries in the court minute books of the governors dealing with the misdemeanours of various staff members but, apart from Wilson, none dealing with clerks of the hospital. Wilson was dismissed from his position and forfeited all his goods and possessions to the hospital. His mother in law Elizabeth Cooke, matron, was also 'thought not to be faythful in hir place' and dismissed, although she was granted a pension 'in respect of her poverty'. Wilson's daughter Sara was also discharged from the care of the hospital.⁷²

The steward was responsible for overseeing the provision of food and drink for the hospital and providing food to the cook every day. He was also responsible for providing the treasurer with reports on stocks of food and coal in order that the treasurer could replenish stocks when necessary. Presumably with the purpose of ensuring that the steward did not embezzle any of the provisions, he was monitored on a daily basis by the matron or one of the almoners when apportioning food. His other function was to supervise any workmen within the hospital. The position paid a salary, in 1553, of £6 13s 4d plus accommodation and allowances for food and fuel.⁷³

In the sixteenth century the clerk and treasurer were assisted by an 'Officer Appointed to Warn the Collectors and Church-wardens'. This task involved liaising with both the collectors for the poor and the churchwardens of the parishes concerning the collection of money and the presentation of children. In carrying this

⁶⁹ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 105v.

⁷⁰ Ibid, f. 97rv.

⁷¹ C.M.B., vol 3, f. 7.

⁷² Ibid, ff. 7-11, 22.

⁷³ Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 35.

out he was charged to ‘use gentle and courteous speche, as shall become yow in that behalfe’.⁷⁴ He was also responsible for keeping records of which ward the children were in, and amending the records if a child was moved or left the hospital for any reason. In addition, he kept the wardrobe books containing the inventory of cloth and clothing, and the nurse book containing details of children at nurse. Howes does not list this position in his list of officers of Christ’s Hospital nor are there any entries of salary payments made so it is likely that this was a position fulfilled by one of the officers with other responsibilities as well.

The porter was responsible for ensuring that the gates to the hospital were locked in the evening, controlling access to the hospital, and general duties around the house. In 1624 the new porter appointed was given accommodation in the porters’ lodge, paid an annual wage of £2 with a further £1 for cleaning two sluices and 10d per week ‘for driving the vagrantes out of the walk’.⁷⁵ In addition he received three pounds of beef per week, three quarters of a pound of butter, two loaves of bread, and an amount of wood and charcoal. It seems that porters sometimes looked for ways to increase their wages. John Phillips, a porter in 1624, asked the court for permission to sell bread and drink in his lodge to the officers of the house and others.⁷⁶ Permission was declined, but in 1661 the porter Henry Bannister was admonished for keeping an ‘Ale house in this house which may prove very prejudicial to the same and inhabitants therein, in regard hee keeping the keyes and may lett in and out whom he pleases at all howers of the Night’.⁷⁷

An important link between the hospitals and the City was the appointment of beadles to patrol the streets. Beadles were appointed at the St. Matthew’s Day court for each of the hospitals and issued with their staffs of office. They were required to surrender their staffs once a year during their performance review at the court; if found to be satisfactory they were re-appointed, if not they were dismissed from their post.⁷⁸ The beadles of Christ’s Hospital were allocated wards of the city to patrol in pairs, and to take any vagrants discovered to Bridewell.⁷⁹ Another duty was to attend the houses

⁷⁴ ‘Order of the hospitals’, in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 103.

⁷⁵ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 324.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, f. 346.

⁷⁷ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 73rv.

⁷⁸ ‘Order of the hospitals’, in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 85.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 105.

of any deceased person within their wards and ensure that there was no trouble, calling for assistance from the beadles in neighbouring areas if necessary.⁸⁰ They also carried out other duties as required by the treasurer or other officers of the hospital. As well as at the St. Matthew's Day court beadles could also be disciplined by the general court of the hospital. In January 1661 Thomas Fuller and Thomas Smith were admonished because they 'did not doe their duties in looking to the cloysters, by reason whereof 6 or 7 children have bene lately laid downe in the Cloysters since Easter left to the charge of this hospitall'.⁸¹ It is clear from the duties that the beadles performed in clearing the streets of vagrants and attending the houses of the deceased that Christ's Hospital was an integral part of the infrastructure of the governance of the City, and not just an orphanage or school within its environs.

There were two types of court meeting held at Christ's Hospital, the full court and the ordinary court. The full court required the attendance of at least thirteen governors, including the president, and at least one other alderman, as well as the treasurer. Any decisions made required a majority of at least six members and the president. The full court took major decisions concerning the governance of the hospital, but the framework in which these were made was established by the City, and certain actions required the approval of the Mayor and Court of Aldermen. If a governor died, the full court could elect a replacement but the choice had to be ratified by the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and whilst the court could grant leases on property, the sealing of the lease was done in the Chamber of London, where the common seal of the hospital was kept, in front of the Court of Aldermen.⁸² The ordinary court was smaller, requiring only the attendance of two governors, including the treasurer. This court was concerned with the day-to-day running of the hospital and dealt with matters such as the provision of supplies.⁸³

The number of full courts held every year was haphazard. In 1571/2 there were thirty-one courts, none of which met the attendance requirement for a full court of thirteen: the maximum attending any court was nine. The president was in attendance for four of those meetings and only one other alderman attended one meeting, thus

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 106.

⁸¹ C.M.B., vol.3, f.73v.

⁸² 'Order of the hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 87.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 88.

the hospital was effectively being run by the common councilmen of the court.⁸⁴ The situation was similar in 1597/8, when an alderman was present at only one meeting out of a total of sixteen, the president attending none. Although the maximum number of people attending court in this year was twenty-one, enough for a full court, the absence of the president in theory precluded this, although there is no evidence of any challenge to decisions made by the court on this basis.⁸⁵

Both the number of courts and the balance of aldermen and councilmen attending changed during the seventeenth century. In 1627/8 there were only five full court meetings, but the president, John Leman, was present at all of them as well as at least one other Alderman. Attendance at all but one of them was over the threshold of thirteen for a full court and the average number present was twenty.⁸⁶ In 1631/2 there were only three meetings, again with the president John Leman attending all, with at least one other alderman and an average attendance of twenty-five.⁸⁷ During the year 1661/2 there was a total of eleven courts, with the president John Fowke attending seven. At least one alderman was present at ten of the eleven meetings, and the average attendance was twenty-seven per meeting.⁸⁸

The increasing attendance at court meetings may be accounted for simply by the increasing size and complexity of the hospital but the increased aldermanic presence at court meetings may also reflect a growing perception by the Court of Aldermen that the hospital was slipping away from the City's control and becoming too independent. At its foundation Christ's Hospital was dependent on the City and parishes for its financial survival. However, by the end of the Elizabethan period the hospital had all but lost funding from the parishes, and was largely dependent on private benefactions and legacies, as well as rents from its increasing property portfolio. When the hospital was in deficit it borrowed money at interest, rather than looking to the City for help as it had done in the past.

This financial independence was also reflected in a growing autonomy in the running of all its affairs, with the governors increasingly paying only lip service to the

⁸⁴ C.M.B., vol. 2, ff. 59v-71v.

⁸⁵ C.M.B., vol. 3, ff. 32v-37rv.

⁸⁶ C.M.B., vol. 5, pp. 414-429.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ C.M.B., vol. 6, ff. 43-79.

original ordinances and regulations for the running of the hospital. The joint St. Matthew's Day court had become largely ceremonial by 1615 and the governors of the four hospitals were electing their own members without ratification by the Court of Aldermen, although the Court of Aldermen made sporadic attempts to re-assert control.⁸⁹ In 1604 it felt it necessary to order that the governors for the hospitals should only be chosen at the St. Matthew's Day court even though that was already the rule.⁹⁰ In 1614 the Court of Aldermen debated a decision made by the governors of Bridewell who had dismissed one of its own members, William Luson. The Court of Aldermen ordered his re-instatement, and further involved itself in the granting of a lease that the Bridewell governors were considering, ordering them to suspend any action until the court had considered it. At a further meeting in May 1614, nineteen of the Bridewell governors attended the Court of Aldermen, where 'it was declared to them by the court that they had supreme authority to examine the orders and proceedings of the governors of all the hospitals in all matters and causes concerning the government thereof, and to approve, ratify, or otherwise alter or annihilate such their proceedings as cause should require'.⁹¹ They were then asked to agree to this or be otherwise dismissed: seventeen assented but two maintained that the court of Bridewell had precedence. They were both dismissed as governors and ordered not to 'intermeddle with any business concerning the hospital'.⁹²

Christ's Hospital also asserted independence from Court of Aldermen when in 1655 it questioned an order by them to admit two children, following the death of their father fighting a fire in Threadneedle Street. The hospital eventually agreed to grant the mother a pension to maintain them, but said that 'although these Children were recommended by ye Court of Aldermen it is not meant to be a president for ye future, ye meanes of ye Ffathers death and ye Condicion of the mother and Children being ye great motive for their admittance'.⁹³

The independence of the court could not withstand the purge of office holders in City government in 1662-3, following the accession of Charles II, and the Corporation

⁸⁹ Craig Rose, 'Politics and the London Royal Hospitals, 1683-92', in *The Hospital in History*, ed. by Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 124.

⁹⁰ *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, p. 20.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 22-23.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁹³ C.M.B., vol 5, pp. 398-399.

Act of 1661.⁹⁴ The Act required office holders to swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown, as well as well as renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant. Additionally, office holders were required to demonstrate that they had taken the sacrament in the restored Church of England within the last twelve months.⁹⁵ On 30 May 1662 the entire court and all of the officers were summoned to appear before the commissioners for the Corporation Act. They initially replied to the commissioners that ‘they doe conseive they are not within the purline (purview) of the said Act never the less if the said Commisioners are not satisfied herewith they are ready to waite upon them with Councell to give them further satisfaction therin’.⁹⁶ The commissioners replied on 11 June with another summons for Richard Glyd, the treasurer, and William Antrobus, a governor, to appear before them.⁹⁷ The court responded by sending the clerk William Parrey to answer the summons alone. The commissioners refused to hear him and dismissed Richard Glyd and William Antrobus from being governors of the hospital, appointing a Mr. John Sanders as treasurer, a post that he refused by stating that ‘the cittie had sithence that time choosen him to be an Alderman, which Office and charge... hee was resolved to execute’.⁹⁸ The commissioners then appointed William Gibbon treasurer the following month, and at the same time dismissed eighteen other governors, although the president Sir John Frederick survived, presumably by swearing the oath.⁹⁹ The commissioners continued to directly intervene in the administration of the hospital and in October George Perkins, the grammar school master, was dismissed for not taking the oath, as was Edward Covill master of Lady Ramsey’s school in Halstead.¹⁰⁰

6.3 Accounts and Accounting

The treasurers’ account books provide details of the income and expenditure of the hospital and were compiled annually. They were audited and the signatures of the auditors are at the end of each year’s accounts. Each set of accounts began with a

⁹⁴ Gary Stuart De Krey, *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 81.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 79.

⁹⁶ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 92rv.

⁹⁷ Ibid, f. 95rv.

⁹⁸ Ibid, f. 97rv.

⁹⁹ Ibid, f. 102rv.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, ff. 115-116.

heading, for example: ‘The charge of the tenth years accounts yielded up by Mr William Norton Treasurer of Christ’s Hospital London, of all the receipts and payments for this present year from Michaelmas 1590 unto the same feast 1591.’¹⁰¹ Each set of accounts comprised two sections — Charges (receipts) and Discharges (expenditure). At the end the charges and discharges were totalled. The first entry is titled remainder, and represents the balance carried over from the previous year’s accounts. The way in which arrears were dealt with varied according to treasurer. Some accounts include arrears in both charges and discharges, while others account for arrears separately. Until 1557 the accounts were combined with those of St. Thomas’s hospital and it is not possible to separate the revenue and expenditure between the two, so these years have been excluded from the data in this chapter. So too have the years 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1593, 1611-1616, 1621, 1622, and 1637, for which the data are either incomplete or missing entirely. Much of the data in this chapter will be presented in three time periods: 1562-93, 1594-1633 and 1634-66. Each period contains approximately the same number of years for which data is available, thirty-one for the period 1562-93, and thirty-two for both the other time periods.

The Court of Aldermen issued instructions on 30 September 1567 that ‘ye make yor awdite and accompte yerelie from Cristmmas to Xpmmas, and that ye do yerelie begine and ende the same yor awdite in the month oi Januarie’.¹⁰² This instruction was not adhered to and the accounting year changed when a new treasurer was appointed. For example, Robert Cogan was treasurer from 1593 to 1611 and under him accounts were prepared from Michaelmas to Michaelmas each year, but on the appointment of the next treasurer, Richard Heath, the accounting period changed to begin in March and then in June. With the next treasurer, John Hawes, the accounting period changed to start in December. The format and accounting procedure also changed with different treasurers. Although the broad categories listed in the accounts remain largely the same throughout the period, the individual items that are recorded change according to treasurer, and also over time. As already noted in Chapter 1, for example, the purchase of candles is only recorded in certain

¹⁰¹ T.A., vol. 2, 1590/1.

¹⁰² ‘Precept to the Governors, to provide Treasure-Chests and other things for the Hospitals’ in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 113.

years, and it is likely that they were included under the ‘necessaries’ category of the accounts when not listed separately. This means it is difficult to track changes over time on specific items purchased, although the total annual income and expenditure can be tracked.

For 1590-1666 the data used in this chapter are taken directly from the treasurers’ account books, but for the period 1553 to 1589 I have used the figures from Carol Manzione’s book.¹⁰³ There are some difficulties in amalgamating Manzione’s data with mine. Firstly, the computer programme that she used to collate the figures totals them by calendar year rather than the accounting year used by Christ’s Hospital. This means that her annual totals do not tally with the totals in the registers. She has also amalgamated some data into broad categories which don’t necessarily tally with the categories that I have used. The main discrepancy is in the recording of wages paid. The account books distinguish money paid for nursing within Christ’s Hospital and nursing outside of the city under the categories ‘board wages’ (for the former) and ‘nursing of Children in the citie and cuntrie’ (for the latter). Manzione only has one category, ‘nursing’, while I have separated the two. Manzione also has two miscellaneous categories — ‘miscellaneous payments’, and ‘miscellaneous’. It is not clear what is included under these headings and I have included her ‘miscellaneous payments’ in my database of expenditure, but not the ‘miscellaneous’ as it is unclear whether this relates to payments or receipts.

The data used here have been taken from the annual accounts, which give yearly totals for the various sources of income and items of expenditure. During the year, however, income and expenditure were recorded on a daily or weekly basis. Most of these records have not survived but the ‘treasurers’ cash books’ are extant for the period 1624-56, as are ‘treasurers’ day books’ for the period 1652-7, and ‘acquittance alias receipt books’ for the period 1647-68.¹⁰⁴

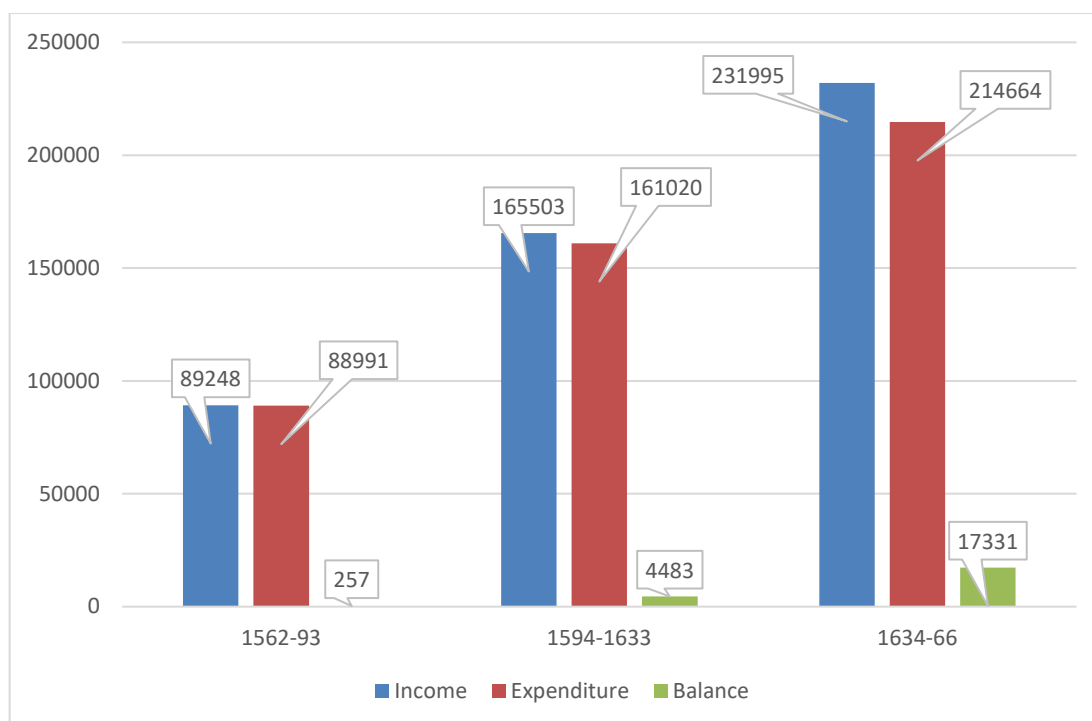
Before moving on to separate examinations of the income and expenditure of the hospital an overview of the finances will be presented, from which it will be seen

¹⁰³ Manzione, *Christ’s Hospital*, pp. 64-70.

¹⁰⁴ L.M.A: CLC/210/C/003/MS12820/ *Treasurers’ cash books* vol’s 1-4; CLC/210/C/008/MS12821/ *Treasurers’ day books* vol’s 1-13; CLC/210/C/012/MS12825/ *Acquittance alias receipt books* vol’s 1-9.

that the hospital's finances were in a precarious state for much of the period covered here.

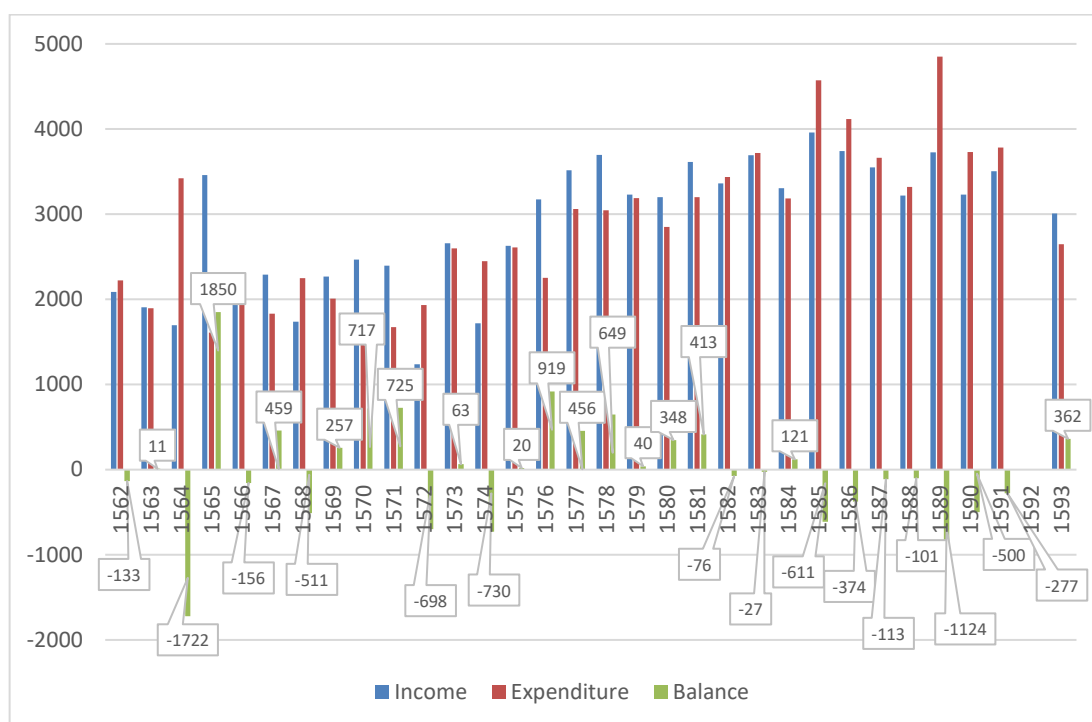
Figure 6-4: Income and expenditure to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

Figure 6-4 shows the income and expenditure of the hospital in the periods 1562-93, 1594-1633, and 1634-66, from which it will be seen that the hospital showed a small surplus during each period. However, if the data are examined by year over each period, as shown in Figures 6-5- 6-7 below, it shows that the hospital was in deficit for many years. The hospital recorded a deficit in twenty-five of the forty-two years (60 per cent) in the period 1562-1604 (where data are available).

Figure 6-5: Surplus or deficit of income and expenditure 1562-93 to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

Figure 6-6: Surplus or deficit of income and expenditure 1594-1633 to nearest £

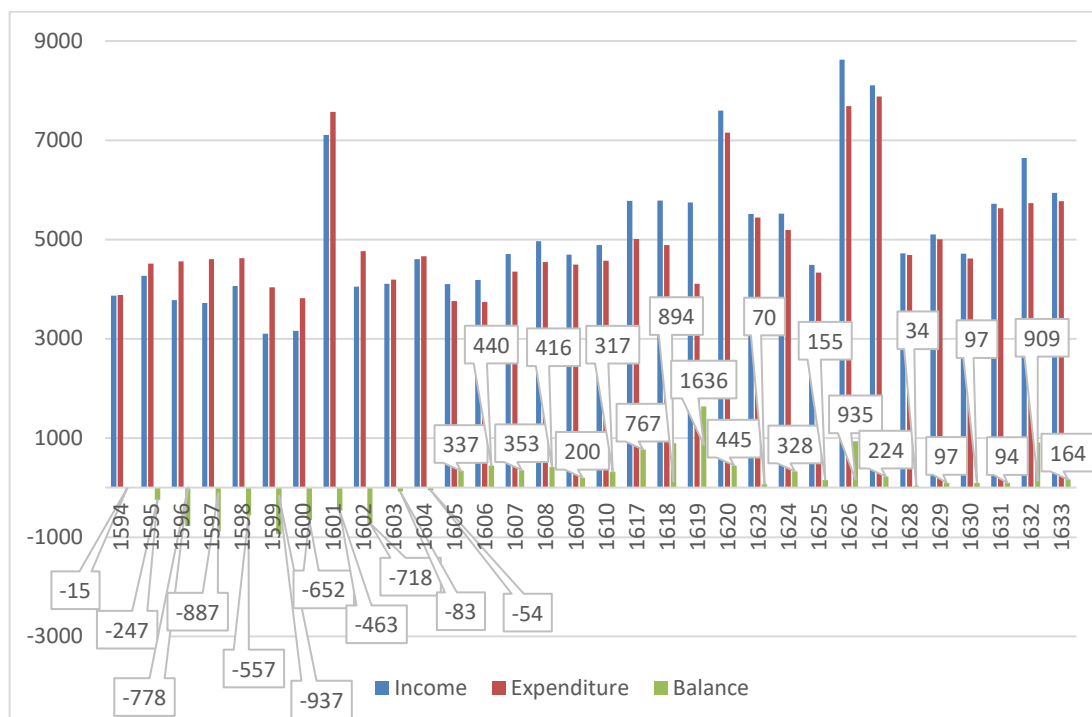
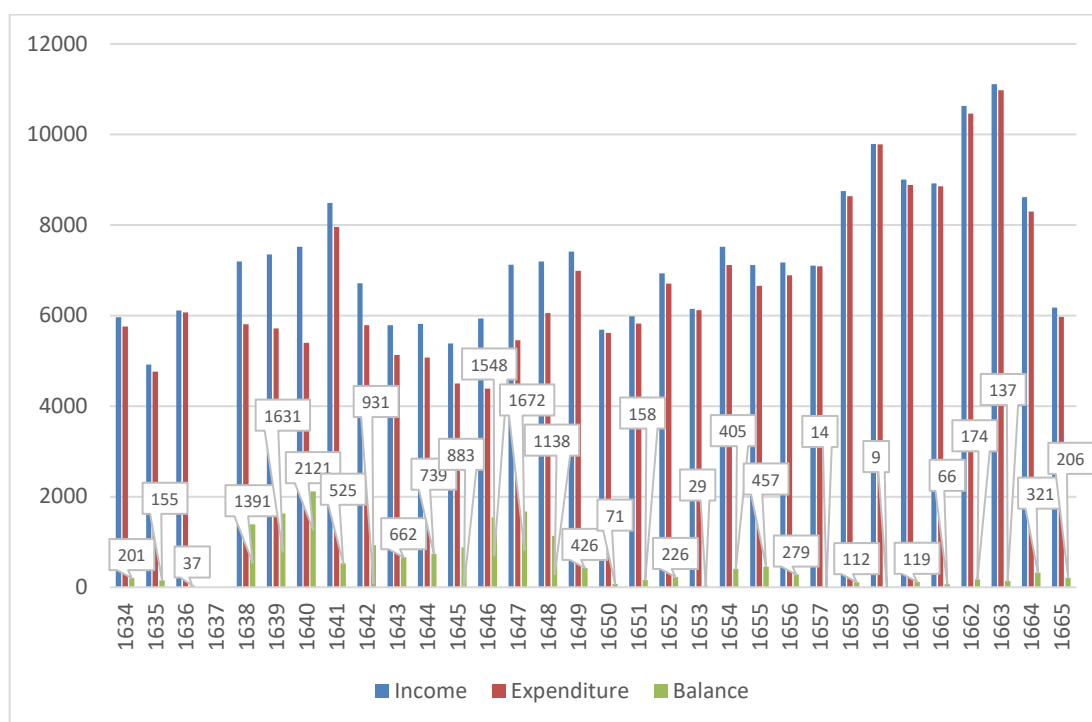
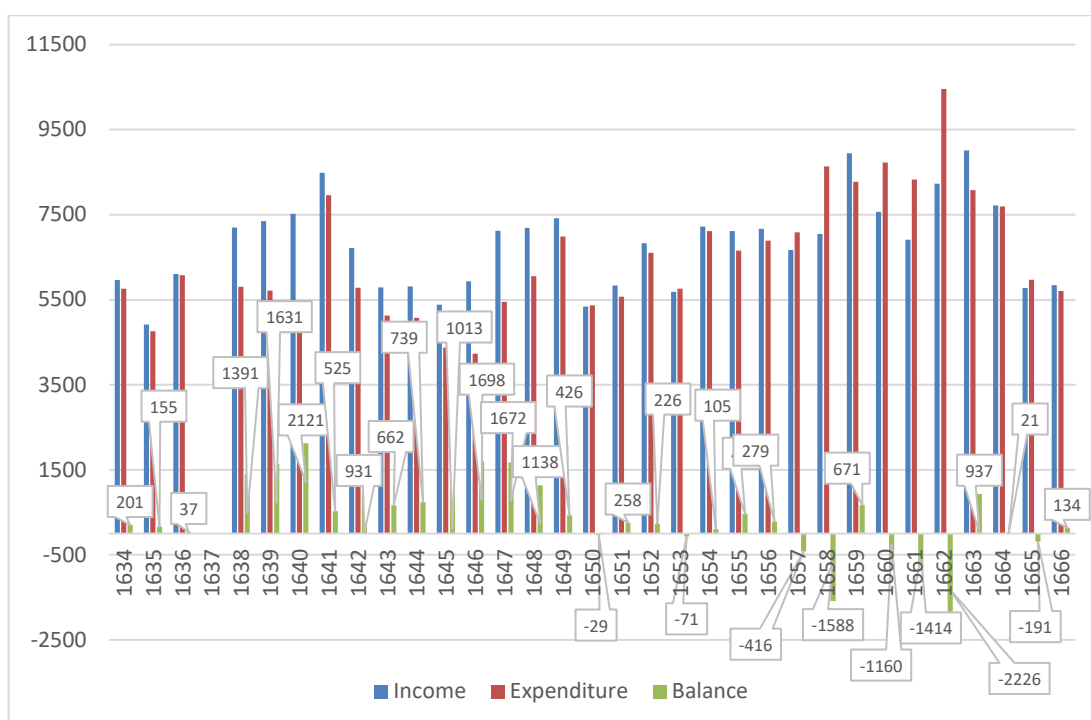


Figure 6-7: Surplus or deficit of income and expenditure 1634-66 to nearest £



From 1605 onwards it appears that the hospital was on a more sound financial footing, but this can be explained by the increase in borrowing by the hospital. If borrowing is removed from revenue, and debt repayment from expenditure, a less healthy picture of the hospital's finances emerges, particularly from 1650 as shown in Figure 6-8 below.

Figure 6-8: Surplus or deficit of income and expenditure 1634-66 excluding borrowed money and loan repayments to nearest £



The first record of borrowing occurred on 11 November 1598, when thirty governors lent a total of £155 to the hospital, made up of individual loans of £5 or £10, all to be repaid within a year. A £70 loan repayment was made in the same financial year, but it is not clear to whom this was made.¹⁰⁵ A further £400 was borrowed in the same manner the following year.¹⁰⁶ The next recorded instance of borrowing occurs in 1603 when a total of £340 was borrowed from ‘the M[aste]rs of the Bridge house by vertue of a warrant to them directed from Sir Robert Lee knight Lord maior... to bee repaid them againe when it shall please god to make this house of ability’. In the same year £100 was borrowed from ‘Mr Tildsley... of Besdon Lodge in the county of Leicester gent... gratis for one whole year’.¹⁰⁷ The loan from Tildsley was repaid in 1605, but it is not clear whether the Bridge House loan was repaid.¹⁰⁸

No further borrowing is evident in the surviving accounts (accounts for 1611-16 are missing or incomplete) until 1620 when £810 was borrowed. The financial problems increased as the number of children being cared for by the hospital increased, and by

¹⁰⁵ T.A., vol. 2, 1598/9.

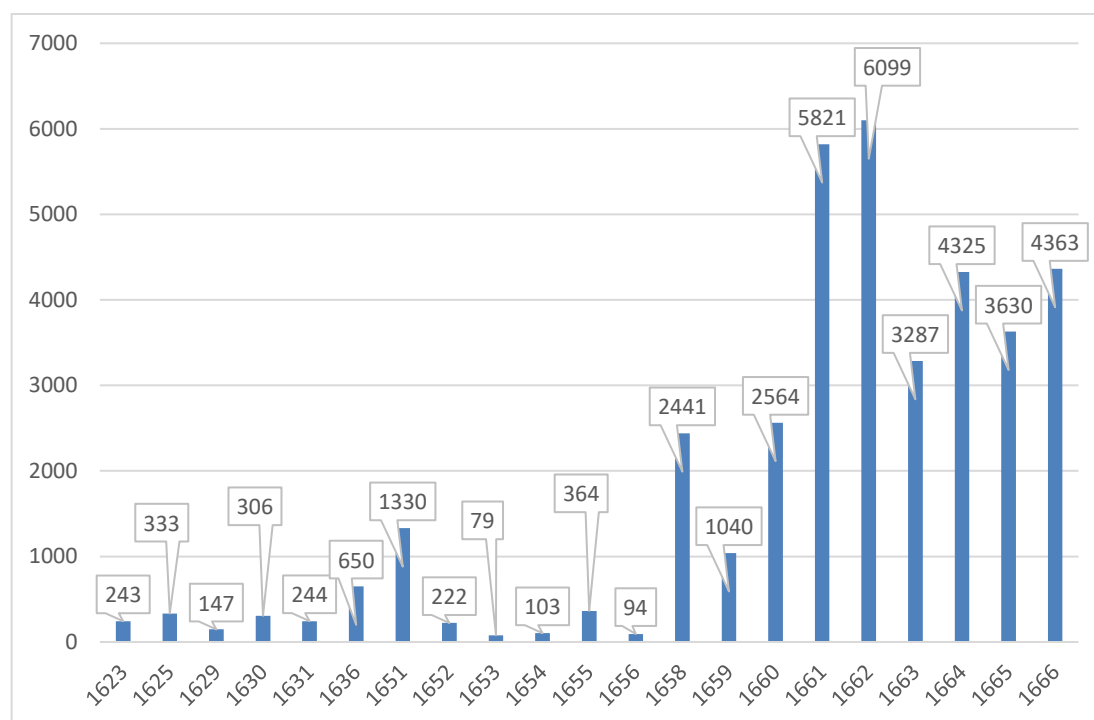
¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 1599/60.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 1603/4.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 1605/6.

the 1660s the problem was acute, and money was borrowed to meet the general running costs of the hospital. Twice in 1661 the treasurer reported to the court that there was not enough money to pay bills. On 5 April he informed the court that ‘by reason of the great number of children the means would not hold out for their maintenance and though they had used all indeavours for getting in of money yet there was great sumes owing to the Bakers Butchers Brewers etc and they desired some order might be taken’.¹⁰⁹ Six months later on 27 September, the treasurer again told the court that there was ‘great want of money to pay Bakers, Butchers, Brewers by reason of the great number of children belonging to this hospitall’. It was agreed to borrow £500 ‘at interest’.¹¹⁰ The amount owed by the hospital is recorded at the end of the accounts for some years and is shown in Figure 6-9. below.

Figure 6-9: Debt owing to nearest £ by year beginning accounts



The financial problem had been exacerbated by the admission on 7 February 1660 of 119 children from the defunct Corporation of the Poor.¹¹¹ The court had agreed to these admissions on 25 January 1660 and all money and stock belonging to the Corporation was also transferred to Christ’s Hospital.¹¹² The sum of £478 13s 3d was

¹⁰⁹ C.M.B., vol. 5, p. 852.

¹¹⁰ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 55v.

¹¹¹ C.R., vol. 4, ff. 84-85.

¹¹² C.M.B., vol. 5, p. 246.

received in the 1660/1 accounts, and a further £105 13s 10d the following year, a total of £584 7s 1d which equates to £4 18s 3d per child. There is no record of the stock received. The youngest child admitted was five years old, and the oldest fifteen, with a mean age of 11.23. Discharge information is available for 117 of the children, from which it is possible to calculate that they were under the care of the hospital for an average of 3.27 years. These admissions represented a significant drain on the already stretched resources of the hospital, even allowing for the money that came with them, which equated to £1 10s per child per year. There are two items of expenditure in the accounts for 1661/2 and 1662/3 for 'money paid on the corporation account', the first for £22 6s 7d, and the second for £30 3s, although the accounts do not specify what this was for.¹¹³ Other than this, the money that came with the children, and the expense involved in providing for their care, seem to have been absorbed into the general hospital budget.

In response to the financial crisis the court halted admissions to the hospital on 19 December 1660, 'excepting such children as are to bee taken in by severall agreements heretofore made',¹¹⁴ and in April 1661 reasserted that 'there woode be noe debate at this time concerning the same there being 300 already more than this house is well able to keepe'.¹¹⁵

One factor which exacerbated the financial insecurity that plagued the hospital was its own difficulty in collecting money due from rents, fines, legacies and annuities, although the money owed to the hospital never exceeded the amount it owed elsewhere. In 1662/3 the hospital had debts of £6,099 and the arrears owing to it were £1,780. Similarly, in 1663/4, the debt owed by Christ's Hospital was £3,287, and money overdue to the hospital was £1,441. The way in which different categories of arrears were dealt with in the accounts differed with each treasurer. Between 1590 and 1624 rent arrears were dealt with in the main body of accounts, rents were listed in the charges section whether or not they were actually paid, and any arrears were entered in the discharge section, thus ensuring that the balance between receipts and expenses was accurate, although charges and discharges totals are higher than they should be. An entry in the 1590/1 accounts lists a Mr. Gadburne

¹¹³ T.A., vol. 9, 1662/3.

¹¹⁴ C.M.B., vol. 5, p. 814.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 849.

paying £3 6s 8d annual rent, while the discharges section shows that Gadburne only paid a quarter of the rent due, with an entry ‘arrearages of rent behind unpaid at midsomer 1591 Mr Gadburne for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yeare £2 13s 4d’.¹¹⁶ From 1624/5 rent arrears were not shown in the main body of accounts but were listed separately after the totals for the year, and from 1631/2 they were categorised as either ‘hopeful’ or ‘desperant’ (desperate), reflecting the likelihood of their being paid. Arrears of legacies and fines do not appear at all until 1623/4 when they begin to be listed at the end of each year’s accounts in the same way as rents.

The hospital seemed to borrow money without any concern as to how it would be repaid and reached a point at which it was unable to meet its repayments. On 9 May 1662 the treasurer reported that ‘severall persons who had lent this hospitall money at Interest had called for the same in, and that hee had not money to pay them, nor at present could not borrow any’.¹¹⁷ A committee was set up to consider the problem, reporting at the end of May 1662 that a total of £2,760 was owed to eleven individuals at either 5 or 6 per cent interest, and ‘after much debate the court resolved and ordered that any person or persons which hath lent any money at interest or shall hereafter lend this hospitall any money shall have bond or bonds for such money as they have or shall lend sealed with the Corporation seale if they shall desire it’.¹¹⁸ It also proposed to raise money by way of fines on all leases expiring before 25 March 1666 and also to find a tenant for the wood of Leesney Park.¹¹⁹ Three months later in August 1662 the treasurer was given permission by the court to borrow £800 ‘to pay butcher, baker and for drink and cloth’.¹²⁰

The way in which the hospital managed its finances and its attitude to debt is comparable to the way in which the City itself approached the management of its own finances: by the end of the seventeenth century it had accrued debt of over £700,000.¹²¹ Vanessa Harding makes the point that London’s historic wealth,

¹¹⁶ T.A., vol. 2, 1590/1.

¹¹⁷ C.M.B., vol.6, f. 89v.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, f. 91rv.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, f. 92v.

¹²⁰ Ibid, f. 104v.

¹²¹ Vanessa Harding, ‘The Crown, the City and the Orphans: the City of London and its finances, 1400-1700’, in *Urban public debts, urban government and the market for annuities in Western Europe (14th – 18th centuries)*, ed. by Marc Boone, Karel Davids, and Paul Janssens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 51.

combined with the traditional reliance on the livery companies and the willingness of the ruling elite to subsidise the City's liabilities rather than risk the potential loss of power that might occur by involving the citizenry through taxation, made the elite unwilling to look for alternatives. In addition, access to the large reserve of capital available in the Orphans' Fund (inheritances left for children of deceased citizens) made it easy to meet liabilities, without thought to the future problems doing so would cause.¹²² The governors of Christ's Hospital seemed to share a similar mind-set, solving financial problems with the easiest available solution with little thought for the longer-term problems this might cause.

6.4 Income

The financial difficulties faced by Christ's Hospital were also faced by the other London hospitals, which were all in some ways competing for the same limited sources of funding in the face of unremitting demand for places. Christ's Hospital benefitted from parish collections during the sixteenth century and was also more popular with those giving legacies and benevolences. Legacies and benevolences for Christ's Hospital increased from an average of £223 per annum between 1570-73 to £586 per annum between 1594-7, an increase of 163 per cent. At St Thomas's, for the same periods, the increase was from £83 to £140 (69 per cent) and at St. Bartholomew's the increase was from £66 to £132 (100 per cent).¹²³ Income from land and property was an important source of revenue for all the hospitals: between 1562 and 1572 rent and property income accounted for approximately 70 per cent of income at St. Thomas's,¹²⁴ and St. Bartholomew's had land in Essex, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Oxfordshire, Hertford, Buckingham and Middlesex, as well as property in the City of London.¹²⁵

Income at St. Thomas's was erratic, and the hospital ran deficits in 1562, 1563, 1568, 1570 and 1572. In 1569 the accounts almost balanced, with a deficit of just 10d, but by 1571 the hospital was accruing debt in order to meet running costs.¹²⁶ Annual income at St. Thomas's averaged £900 per annum between 1562-5, increasing to

¹²² Ibid, pp. 51-60.

¹²³ Archer, *Pursuit*, p.181.

¹²⁴ Daly, *Hospitals*, p. 308.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p.191.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 309.

£1,600 in 1566, and falling again to £1,085 in 1569; in 1572 it fell again to £754.¹²⁷ In the same periods Christ's Hospital income was £2,182 during 1562-5 (average); £1,486 in 1566; £1,733 in 1569; and £1,711 in 1572.¹²⁸

This section will examine the sources of income for the hospital, and the way in which these income streams changed over time, as the hospital moved away from reliance on City and parish collections, to funding itself from income from legacies and rents from its large property portfolio. Again, it must be remembered that accounts are not available for some years, so some charts below will show zero income for some years, reflecting the lack of data for those years.

Figure 6-10 below shows the hospital's income per annum from all sources. It can be seen that annual income increased over the period, from a low in 1563 of £1,907 to a high in 1663 of £11,114. It can be seen that from 1664 annual income began to fall, and there are several possible reasons for this. The hospital's use of loans to cover running costs was discussed earlier in this chapter, and the amount of money borrowed reached a peak in the four-year period between 1660 and 1663, when £7,941 was borrowed by the hospital. A new treasurer, William Gibbon, was appointed in 1662 and it seems that he made an attempt to bring the hospital's finances into better order and lessen the reliance on loans as only £1,897 was borrowed in the period 1664-66.¹²⁹ He also informed the Court on 7 August 1663 'that his intent was to lessen the great number of children at present in this hospitall'.¹³⁰

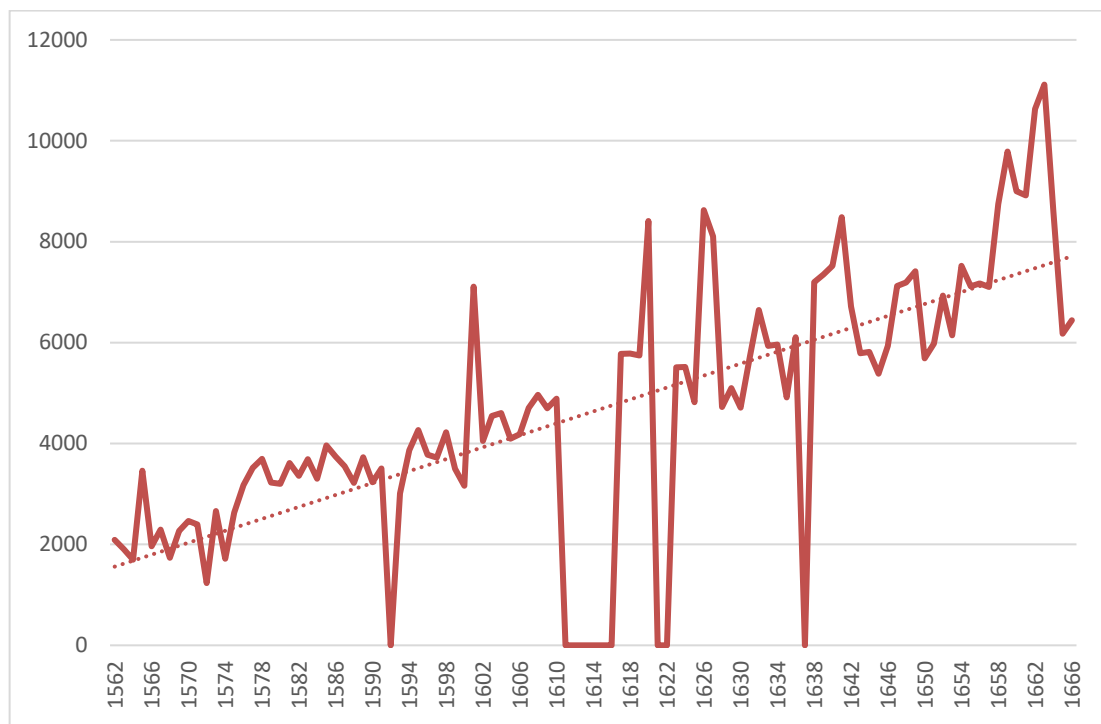
¹²⁷ Ibid, pp. 308-309.

¹²⁸ T.A., vol. 2.

¹²⁹ T.A., vol. 9, 1664/5-1666/7.

¹³⁰ C.M.B., vol. 6 f. 141.

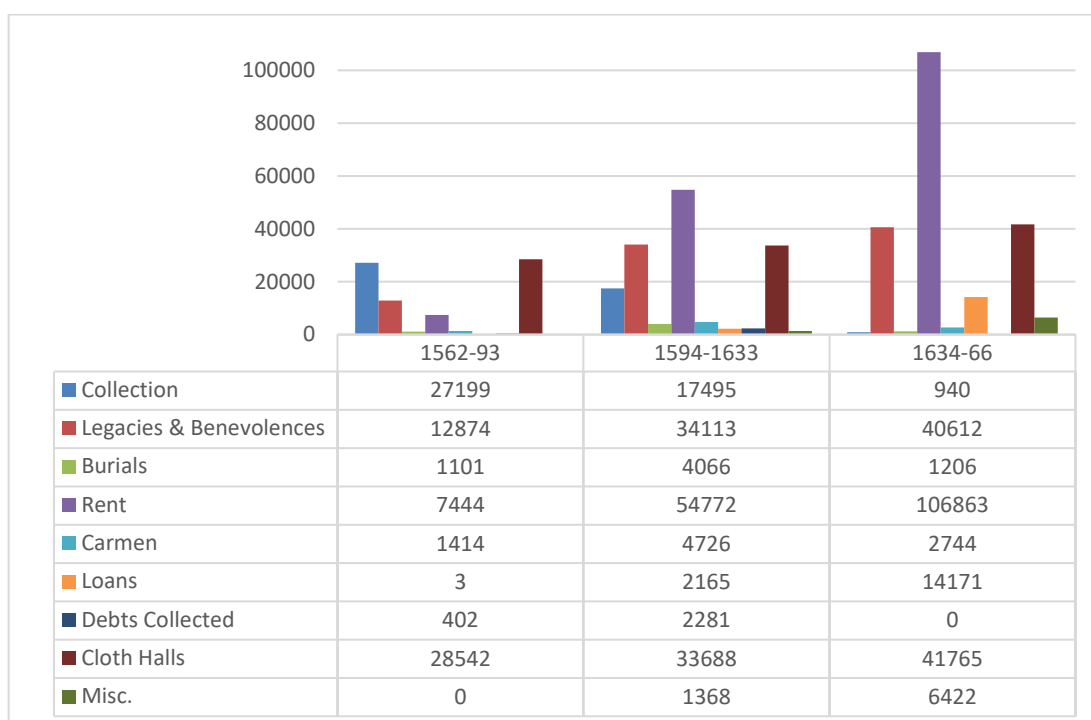
Figure 6-10: Income per annum to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

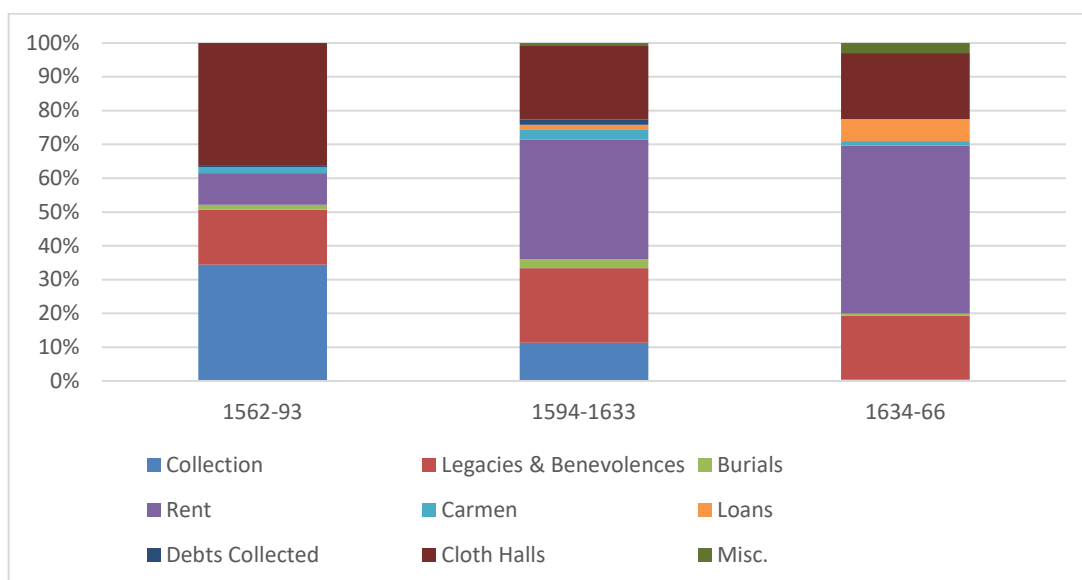
Figure 6-11 shows the sources of income for the hospital, and Figure 6-12 the ratio of money from different sources. It can be seen that the way in which the hospital was funded changed over time, from being largely reliant on parish collections, to being largely funded by the rents from its own property portfolio.

Figure 6-11: Sources of income to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

Figure 6-12: Ratio of income from different sources*

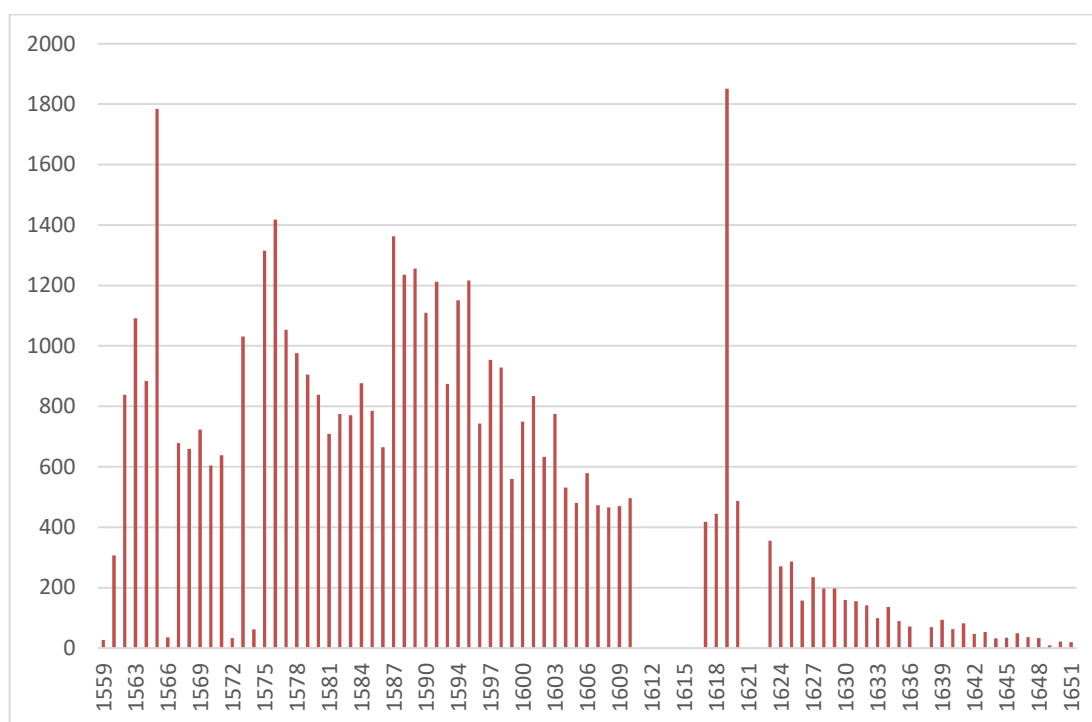


*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

As stated above, the primary source of income in the early years of the hospital was from collections in the parishes. Initially parish collections were voluntary but under the poor relief legislation of 1563 and 1572 collections were centralised under the control of Christ's Hospital who then rebated a proportion of the collections back to

the parishes for their own outdoor relief.¹³¹ Parish collections were recorded in the accounts under two headings: Old Collection (which were those payments due from the previous year), and New Collection, which were those payments from the current year. Money was also collected at wardmote inquests, as well as through collection boxes placed at various locations throughout the city. Money collected from the wardmote inquests and other boxes was never a major source of income — the maximum collected in a year was £85 in 1555/6 and the minimum £3 in 1636/7. Figure 1:10 below shows the total amount from all collection sources, from which it can be seen that the amount received from this source declined steadily before ceasing completely in 1651/2. There is a marked increase in collection money in 1619/20 when £1,670 was received in the old collection; the reason for this is not clear, but it may have been due to a concerted effort by the hospital to collect arrears from previous years.

Figure 6-13: Revenue from parish and wardmote inquest collections to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

Conflict was often present in the financial relationship between the parishes and the hospital, each wanting a greater share of the pot, and the parishes feeling that they

¹³¹ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 159.

should be able to place more children in Christ's Hospital, as discussed in Chapter 2. The difficulties in getting parishes to pay were compounded by difficulties with householders paying their contribution to the poor rate. In November 1560 parish officials were summoned to discuss the problem of those 'who have withdrawn their charity from the poor', resulting in the taking down of names, and subsequent questioning, of householders who had withheld their contribution. Richard Thompson, a cook, had pledged 6d weekly but had ceased giving and was ordered to resume, but Thompson did 'stubbornly deny to give anything, and therefore is warned to appear before my Lord Mayor and his brethren the next court day at the Guildhall'. Valler, a plumber, was let off, although he was behind in his weekly payment 'for that (as he saith), he hath two children of his kindred out of the country to keep which do him good service'.¹³²

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen also became involved on 24 April 1561, issuing an order to the aldermen of Farringdon Without that they meet with the governors of Christ's Hospital to discuss and remedy the fact that 'dyverse and sondrye of the inhabytants wtin yor saide warde have of late steyed reteyned and wtdrawn their charitable wekely almes that they were wekely wonte upon the Sondayes to geve and delyver wtin the severall chirches of yor saide warde'. They were also charged to 'see that no foreyn beggars or other poore people shulde be suffred to begge wtin the saide parysshes'. A list of representatives from the other wards was also drawn up, along with the names of hospital governors in order that they should meet and discuss the same problem in their respective wards.¹³³ Part of the problem was the perception amongst Londoners that the hospital was not focused on helping the citizens of London, but was instead more focused on dealing with foreigners and beggars. This problem was recognised by John Jackson, the treasurer. In 1566 he acknowledged that 'light and common harlots and other poor women being great with child' were regularly being helped by the hospitals 'for charity's sake', going on to say that, 'without some order shortly taken in this behalf, the collections will still diminish'.¹³⁴

¹³² Daly, *Hospitals*, p. 344.

¹³³ 'Precept for Collections to be made in the several Wards for the relief of the Poor in the Hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, pp. 107-111.

¹³⁴ C.M.B., vol 2, f. 28.

The 1598 poor law gave control of the poor rate back to the parishes, and the amount given to the hospital fell dramatically. New Collection payments fell from £625 in 1597/8 to £11 in 1599/1600, with no payments recorded from then until 1603/4.¹³⁵ The city stepped in to counter this shortfall and parishes were ordered to pay the hospital ‘by virtue of sundry warrants... from the Lord Mayor out of the collection for the poore of the several parishes of this citty’.¹³⁶ In 1600/01 the Lord Mayor visited the court at Christ’s Hospital to discuss the financial crisis it faced, and the decision was taken that parish collections should again be accounted for at Christ’s Hospital.¹³⁷ Ian Archer has commented that the parishes were inclined to grant more pensions than the hospital, thereby reducing the amount available to Christ’s.¹³⁸ The Court of Aldermen addressed this in 1602 by giving the hospital the right to question recipients of parish pensions and decide on their eligibility to receive them:

Wheras this court was this day informed that the churchwardens and overseers for the poore in sundry parishes in this citty have allowed pencons to divers persones which ought not by the true meaning of the late acte of p[ar]l[i]am[en]t for the reliefe of the poore to have any reliefe at all to the great... hinderance of the poore in Christs hospitall ffor remedy it is ordered that ffrom here fforth all such persones within all the severall parishes and precints... which are or shall be appointed by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor to have any weekly or monthly pencions shall personally appear before the treasurer and governors of Christ’s Hospitall once every yeare... there to be viewed and examined weither they ought to be releived with such pencions or not and such of them as shall refuse to appear shall have their pencions stayed until they shall make their appearance accordingly. And that by St Androwes day next the names and surnames of all the pencioners with in the citty and the liberties thereof and the some of every of their pencons shall be delivered in writing into Christ’s Hospital.¹³⁹

Although Christ’s Hospital seemingly had great power to obtain and use the poor relief of the city, they never really succeeded in exercising this power. This is reflected in the amounts paid into Christ’s Hospital by the parishes. Payments resumed in 1603/4 but the amount collected in the year it was due was minimal. In 1607/8 only £4 was recorded under the New Collection, with £439 collected in arrears from the previous year. The arrears of collections shown in the Old

¹³⁵ T.A., vol. 2, 1597/8, 1599/60.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 1599/60.

¹³⁷ C.M.B., vol.3, f. 55.

¹³⁸ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 160.

¹³⁹ C.M.B., vol.3 f. 64.

Collection demonstrates the ambivalence of parishes to paying Christ's Hospital the money it was due, and the tensions between parish and hospital over the admission of children. Parishes would sometimes withhold payments if they were not able to get children admitted. When St. Michael Cornhill had no success in admitting children in 1591 and 1592, the parish decided to withhold its contribution to the hospital.¹⁴⁰ Conversely in 1604, when the parish of St. Matthew Friday Street wanted to admit a child, the admission was agreed on condition that the parish paid 'their whole assessment into this hospital'.¹⁴¹

According to John Howes, Christ's Hospital was 'chiefely mainteyned by the lyberall devocon of the Cyttezens',¹⁴² although the difficulties faced in the 1560s by the hospital in collecting contributions, as discussed above, and in persuading some householders to contribute show that support was not universal amongst London citizens. Legacies and bequests to the hospital were, however, an important source of income. These charitable donations can be looked at in the context of the debate on changes to philanthropic behaviour in the wake of the Reformation. W.K. Jordan argued that the post-Reformation period witnessed a massive change in attitudes towards charity and provision for the poor, describing 'the rapid withering of the religious preoccupation' in favour of 'the secular needs of humanity'.¹⁴³ The Catholic view that charitable giving was advantageous to the soul of the donor encouraged indiscriminate alms-giving whereas Protestant giving was more rational and focused. The deserving and undeserving could be separated and relief channelled through institutions such as the parish or hospital. Ian Archer has cautioned against exaggerating this shift away from pre-Reformation practices, noting that in the 1590s 32 per cent of those making bequests to the poor left instructions for poor to attend their funeral. Although this figure began to fall it was still 17 per cent in the 1630s.¹⁴⁴ Attendance of Christ's Hospital children at funerals supports this, and 'burial money' was a source of income for the hospital, discussed later in this section.

¹⁴⁰ Archer, *Pursuit*, p. 160.

¹⁴¹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 81.

¹⁴² Howes, *Manuscript*, p. 74.

¹⁴³ Wilbur Kitchener Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959), p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ Ian W. Archer, 'The Charity of Early Modern Londoners', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), p. 233.

As noted in Chapter 1, Jordan's work has been widely challenged, mainly on the basis that he failed to take inflation into account when analysing his data, thereby giving a misleading impression of the amount by which charitable giving increased. Ian Archer also cautions against Jordan's assumption that the change in the nature of charitable giving was based on a change of religious attitude, pointing out that the Reformation had wiped out substantial charitable provision in the form of monasteries and religious guilds, leaving a 'vacuum in charitable provision' that had to be filled.¹⁴⁵ There is no doubt however that Christ's Hospital became a popular recipient of donations and bequests from a wide range of London citizens, which provided the basis for its increasing holdings of property and land which, in turn, provided the hospital's main source of income in the seventeenth century. Claire Schen's work on wills between 1580 and 1620 shows that, of the wills examined, 21.4 per cent of testators left gifts to Christ's Hospital, compared with 4.46 per cent to the other London hospitals,¹⁴⁶ and Ionna Tsakirpoulou found in her study of London female elite testators between 1580 and 1630, that 69 per cent left money to the London hospitals, Christ's being the most generously provided for.¹⁴⁷

Donations were entered in the accounts as either Legacies or Benevolences. Only cash legacies were recorded in this way, and the amount of information given varied. Sums over £10 were recorded in a separate ledger.¹⁴⁸ Gifts of land or property were recorded elsewhere, but rents resulting from gifts of property were entered in the accounts. Further information about larger legacies is often found in the court minute books. It might be expected that the Legacies category would cover payments or bequests from wills and Benevolences payments from living donors, but this is not the case and the two categories seemed to have been interchangeable. Motivations for donations varied widely and although some were unconditional payments given to the hospital to aid its work with poor children, other donations can be more accurately regarded as conditional payments for services or favours, as will be shown below.

¹⁴⁵ Archer, *Pursuit*, p.168.

¹⁴⁶ Claire S. Schen, *Charity and Lay Piety in Reformation London, 1500-1620* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 196.

¹⁴⁷ Ionna Zoe Tsakirpoulou, *The Piety and Charity of London's Female Elite, c. 1580-1630* (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 2016), p. 221.

¹⁴⁸ L.M.A., CLC/210/G/A/001/MS12812/001: *Register of benefactions, legacies etc. 1552-1820*.

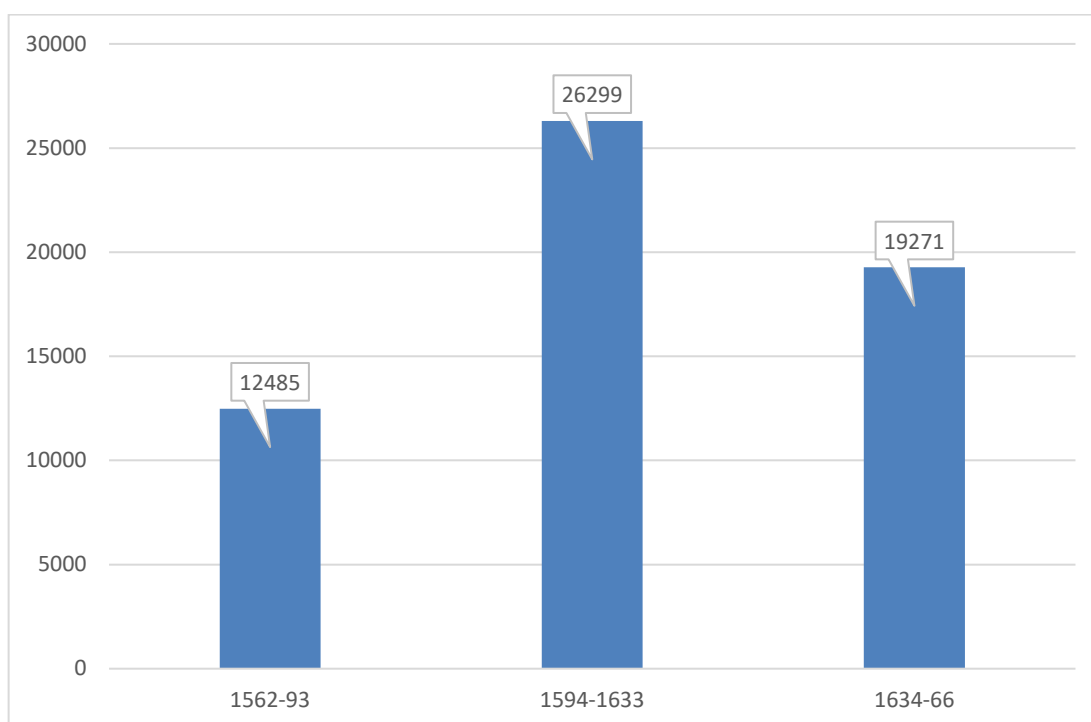
Parishes sometimes paid an amount of money when presenting a child for admission, although how frequently this actually happened is unclear as payments were recorded in the 'benevolences' category of the account books, and individual entries often did not specify where the money came from. Following the death of a parishioner, the parish of St. John Zachary paid 4s 6d for a 'peticon to gett his childe into 'Christ's'.¹⁴⁹ Promises of long-term support for children admitted from parishes were sought but it is unclear if payments were actually made on an ongoing basis. Marie Mychaell was admitted in 1590 from St. Michael Crooked Lane, 'with promise per bill of 1590 the said parishioners to pay this hospital £3 18s per annum which is 8d weekly'.¹⁵⁰ There is no record of payments being made but entries in the 'benevolence' column of the accounts often did not record detailed information of where the money was being received, so it is impossible to be certain whether the promised payment was made or not. Ad hoc payments were also made by parishes for children after admission. Two entries from the 1590 accounts show payments towards the maintenance of children, £1 from St. Stephen Walbrook parish 'towards the appareiling of a child sent from there', and 10s from St. Margaret Fish Street 'towardses the educacon'.¹⁵¹ These types of payment were, however, very haphazard.

¹⁴⁹ *The records of two city parishes; a collection of documents illustrative of the history of SS. Anne and Agnes, Aldersgate, and St. John Zachary, London, from the twelfth century*, ed. by William McMurray (London: Hunter and Longhurst, 1925); Allan, *Admissions*, p.88.

¹⁵⁰ Allan, *Admissions*, p. 219.

¹⁵¹ T.A., vol. 2, 1590/1.

Figure 6-14: Revenue from cash benevolences and legacies to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

The amount received in benevolences and legacies is shown in Figure 6-14 above, from which it can be seen that the amount received from this source increased in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and then fell from 1634. The data shown above does not consider price inflation, so the real value of the increase in the period 1594-1633 is uncertain.

In the same way that payments from parishes relating to the admission or care of a child were entered as benevolences, admissions from other sources also often entailed a payment. James Christendom was admitted in 1565 'upon the suit of the Lady Sackville who gave with the same child in money the sum of 20s', and the admission of Thomas Dale from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen in 1572 was also accompanied by a payment of £1.¹⁵²

Donations to the hospital ranged from small, one-off amounts to large sums of money or property, often with complex conditions attached. The sum of 2s was given by Lady Gresham's maid in 1562/3, and £1 5s by 'certain mariners that went afishing

¹⁵² Allan, *Admissions*, p. 69, 105.

to the New Found Land'.¹⁵³ Gifts were sometimes anonymous: money for apprenticeship premiums totalling £3 19s was received in 1648 from 'a gentleman that does not desire to be known'.¹⁵⁴ Smaller gifts were also given for specific purposes: for several years between 1634 and 1642 a 'gent unknown paid for a recreation for the officers of this hospital on Christmas Day at night',¹⁵⁵ and on 29 May 1665 'a dyner of roasting beef for the children' was given as 'the gift of Mrs Katherine Wickins deceased'.¹⁵⁶

Gifts to aid alumni of the hospital with apprenticeship premiums or money for stock to begin their trade were also common. Thomas Hatton was given £4 in 1641, 'the gift of a gentleman unknown to be bestowed on some young man that hath been a child of this hospital and has served his full time of apprenticeship being for a stocke to begin his trade', and Thomas Smith received £13 6s 8d 'being the gift of Mr Thomas Hodges' in the same year, for the same purpose. John Langham gave £500 towards the purchase of 'a Capital mesauge or Tenement' in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, to pay apprenticeship premiums for three male children, and for three female children to be placed in service. It also specified that the children should be fatherless if possible. The court accepted this conditionally by giving itself the option not to pay the specified apprenticeship premiums by specifying that: 'in Case the rents of the said Capitall messuage shall by reason of the defecte in the title or any Casualty by fyer or other instance bee obstructed orr nott payd or nott amount unto soe much as shall annually pay and discharge the said Charitable use'.¹⁵⁷

The conditions attached to some of the bequests show the increased targeting of relief to particular groups of 'deserving poor'. David Smith, embroiderer to Queen Elizabeth I, left property to the hospital on his death in 1587. Part of this estate was a block of six tenements which were henceforth to be known as 'the poore widowes alley' or 'poor widowes Inne' and were designated for the use of six poor widows. A pension was also to be paid to the widows of 20s per annum. This was to be provided from rents received from other parts of the estate, and also from the proceeds of three capital sums, two of £25 and one of £30, to be used for the purchase of lands. The

¹⁵³ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 88-89.

¹⁵⁴ T.A., vol. 7, 1648/9.

¹⁵⁵ T.A., vol. 6, 1634/5.

¹⁵⁶ T.A., vol. 9, 1642/3.

¹⁵⁷ C.M.B., vol.5, pp. 316-7.

bequest stipulated that during her lifetime, Smith's widow was to choose the residents of the almshouses, and that after her death female relatives were to be given preference in the event of a vacancy.¹⁵⁸

Similarly, the charitable donations of Robert Dowe, who endowed the music school at Christ's Hospital as discussed in Chapter 3, illustrate the concern shown by benefactors for the moral suitability of the recipient. Dowe was a wealthy merchant and prolific benefactor to various charitable causes. He was a leading member of the Russia Company and traded extensively with Spain, exporting cloth and importing wine and raisins. He served as warden of the Merchant Taylors in 1571 and 1575, and as master in 1578. He was a resident of St. Botolph Aldgate from 1584,¹⁵⁹ and much of his philanthropic effort was focused in that parish, including a fund for sixty poor widows who received four nobles per year and a cloak every three years, as did six men of the parish.¹⁶⁰ He also funded a room in the Merchant Taylors' Company's almshouses for a poor widow, which was later increased to two rooms.¹⁶¹ Dowe was also involved in the construction of the aforementioned almshouses, handling the accounts for the building. Thirteen aged tailors in other parts of the city also received twenty nobles per year and a gown every three years, scholars at St. John's College Oxford were supported to the tune of £100 per year, as well as a Latin bible, prisoners in Newgate were helped, as were freemen of the Merchant Taylors' on completion of their apprenticeship. Bethlem, Bridewell, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's also received donations.¹⁶²

Dowe was unusual in some respects, as the bulk of his charities were established before his death rather than after, although Ian Archer points out that he was predeceased by his five sons and this may offer some explanation.¹⁶³ More typically he was concerned that the recipients of his beneficence were morally appropriate. He complained that 'the poore in these dayes are given unto much Idleness and little

¹⁵⁸ L.M.A: CLC/210/G/BSE/001/MS13813, *David Smith's Gift*.

¹⁵⁹ Ian W. Archer, 'Dowe, Robert (c.1523–1612), merchant and benefactor', *ODNB* [accessed 6 December 2020].

¹⁶⁰ Nixon, *London's doue*.

¹⁶¹ Philip Baker and Mark Merry, "'The poore lost a good Frend and the parish a good Neighbour': the lives of the poor and their supporters in London's eastern suburb, c. 1583-c. 1679." in *London and beyond, Essays in honour of Derek Keene*, ed. by Matthew P. Davies and James A. Galloway (London: University of London Press, 2012), p. 162.

¹⁶² Nixon, *London's doue*.

¹⁶³ Archer, *Dowe*.

labour’¹⁶⁴, and the conditions attached to his charitable endeavours reflected this. The pensions he provided for thirteen poor tailors were only for those who had ‘contynued their trade as long as their sight and strength would permytt them to work, being of the full age of threescore yeres and which have been householders and mayntayners of families and of honest, sober and good reputacon and which have been obedient and dutifull to the Master and Wardens’. The recipients of his charity in St. Botolph were required to attend the church to receive their money, where they were placed in the choir aisles according to place of residence and then called individually by name into the choir to receive the payment. Following this they processed into the nave to hear an address by the minister stressing the need for good church attendance, followed by the Lord’s prayer and finishing by being required to say ‘God reward all good benefactors and bless the Company of Merchanttailers’¹⁶⁵. Not everyone was enamoured of Dowe’s piety and in 1598 three women from the parish were questioned for ‘casting Fowle bowles of beastlynes against Mr. Robert Dow his backe doore’.¹⁶⁶

The donations of Sir Thomas Ramsey, president of Christ’s Hospital from 1582 to 1590, and his wife Lady Mary Ramsey illustrate the difficulties that the governors sometimes had in effectively administering legacies and making sure that money was assigned properly. In 1583 Ramsey assigned the manor of Berden and the rectory of Clavering in Essex to Christ’s Hospital, to provide £10 per annum for poor London prisoners, £10 per annum for St Bartholomew's Hospital, and £40 per annum for scholarships and fellowships at Peterhouse Cambridge, the surplus income to be retained for the hospital’s own use. This has been estimated by Ian Archer to be worth £168 per annum at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁷ On Sir Thomas’s death in 1590 Lady Ramsey gave Colne Manor in Essex to Christ’s, but with the condition that there was to be ‘erected in clavering in essex a free grammer school for the mayntenance of [which] she hath given £20, also a writing school is to be erected in christe’s hospital for the mayntenance of £20 to be paid out of the same manor’.¹⁶⁸ It also included a clause whereby Lady Ramsey could lease part of the

¹⁶⁴ Baker and Merry, ‘The poore’, in *London and beyond*, ed. by Davies and Galloway, P. 179.

¹⁶⁵ Archer, *Dowe*.

¹⁶⁶ Baker and Merry, ‘The poore’, in *London and beyond*, ed. by Davies and Galloway, P. 179.

¹⁶⁷ Archer, ‘Ramsey’ *ODNB*.

¹⁶⁸ C.M.B., vol. 2, f. 408.

manor at a fixed rent. The school in Clavering was conditional upon the townspeople building a schoolhouse for a schoolmaster and usher, who were to be chosen and maintained by the governors of Christ's Hospital. If the local townspeople however failed to erect a schoolhouse, then the governors were instead to erect and maintain a grammar school in Colne Engaine. The governors of Christ's Hospital were also charged with erecting ten small tenements in London 'of two rooms a piece for ten poor, aged women past labour'.¹⁶⁹ The women were to live rent free, and each receive a pension of 40s a year. However, at a court in December 1602 the treasurer reported that, although Lady Ramsey had specified money for the erection of tenements, 'by reason of the greate debt it is in is not in any way able to perform the same'.¹⁷⁰ The solution that the court agreed was to ask the executors of the will to reassign money left to other beneficiaries to Christ's Hospital, and also to ask the governors for money.

The hospital was released from its obligation to build a school in 1595, as Lady Ramsey had herself erected a grammar school at Halstead and was maintaining the schoolmaster. The governors were now only required to maintain the schoolmaster after her death.¹⁷¹ Lady Ramsey also left an endowment to support wounded soldiers who had served in the Spanish war, £1,000 for charitable ventures in Bristol, and £100 to provide clothing for the poor in seven Essex parishes.¹⁷² On her death in 1601 £2,500 went to Christ's Hospital as well as property worth £348 9s per annum, although from this £165 10s 10d had to be paid to various other beneficiaries.

The governors also had to make choices as to whether or not to accept some legacies and benevolences due to the conditions attached to them. In 1663 the court discussed 'a lady of the age 72 years [who] was very willing to pay to this hospitall the summe of £300 condicioned that this hospitall pay unto her during her life £40 annum'. The court was unwilling to do this and thought £30 per annum was more appropriate, but 'considering her great age and that the said lady might at her death be a Benefactor to

¹⁶⁹ L.M.A.: CLC/210/G/BRB/041/MS13583, *Dame Mary Ramsey's gift: deeds relating to the maintenance by the governors of Christ's Hospital of a grammar school in Halstead, Essex.*

¹⁷⁰ C.M.B., vol.3, f. 66.

¹⁷¹ L.M.A.: CLC/210/G/BRB/041/MS13583, *Dame Mary Ramsey's gift.*

¹⁷² Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 102.

this hospitall after some debate they desired that the Treasurer trial with her and to make as good an agreement with her as he can'.¹⁷³

Larger bequests were often left to maintain a certain number of children at the school. This often led to disputes, particularly in times of financial difficulty for the hospital when it was trying to restrict admissions. John Lorke's gift of £1,000 in 1633 was discussed in Chapter 2, but it illustrates the difficulty faced when the hospital accepted money to maintain a certain number of children in perpetuity, obliging them to accept children even when financial constraints necessitated a moratorium on admissions.¹⁷⁴ The executors of Lorke's will did manage to enforce the terms of the will, but the hospital were more successful in refusing similar admissions in other cases. On 3 May 1661 the Company of Skinners as executors of the will of William Stoddard wanted to admit two children in place of two others who had been discharged. In this case the court, after examining the agreement dated 10 December 1628 relating to the admission of ten children under the gift of Stoddard, decided that they weren't obliged to take the children and directed that 'the Company of Skynners should be acquainted therewith'.¹⁷⁵

Collecting the money left in legacies was sometimes problematic and executors of wills were not always forthcoming with monies due to the hospital. Christ's Hospital made an annual payment to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in order that wills be checked for money left to the hospital. In 1592 a group of governors was deputed to go through the book of legacies and collect arrears,¹⁷⁶ and in 1607 one of the governors was 'intreated to looke into all such wills as have been proved as well in the Prerogative court in the diocesse of London for tenn yeares past what hath been given to this hospitall by any of them'.¹⁷⁷ The legacy of Richard Aldworth provides an extreme example of the difficulties encountered in collecting legacies. Aldworth left a substantial bequest valued at £7,400 on his death in 1648, on condition that forty boys be maintained at Christ's Hospital, and that a 'godley widow or elderly Mayden' be employed to tend and cook for them.¹⁷⁸ Children were admitted under

¹⁷³ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 136.

¹⁷⁴ C.M.B., vol. 4, f. 30.

¹⁷⁵ C.M.B., vol. 5 p. 858.

¹⁷⁶ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 5.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, f. 102.

¹⁷⁸ TNA: PROB 11/237/116; CLC/210/G/BAA/001/MS12862, *Richard Aldworth's charity: memoranda and account book 1642- 1649*, pp. 14-16.

the terms of the legacy but despite the formation of a committee to collect the money it had not been received before 1666, when this study concludes. The court complained in 1662/3 'That this hospitall is already out of purse towards maintaining of the 40 poore children [and] money has still not been paid'.¹⁷⁹ Interestingly Aldworth's legacy does not feature at all in the account books; the only references to it are in the court minute books and the four special volumes of accounts and papers relating to the Aldworth legacy.¹⁸⁰ The problem of collecting large legacies was not confined to Christ's Hospital: a legacy of £2,000 bequeathed to Bridewell by Sir James Cambell in 1642 had still not been received by the hospital in 1656.¹⁸¹

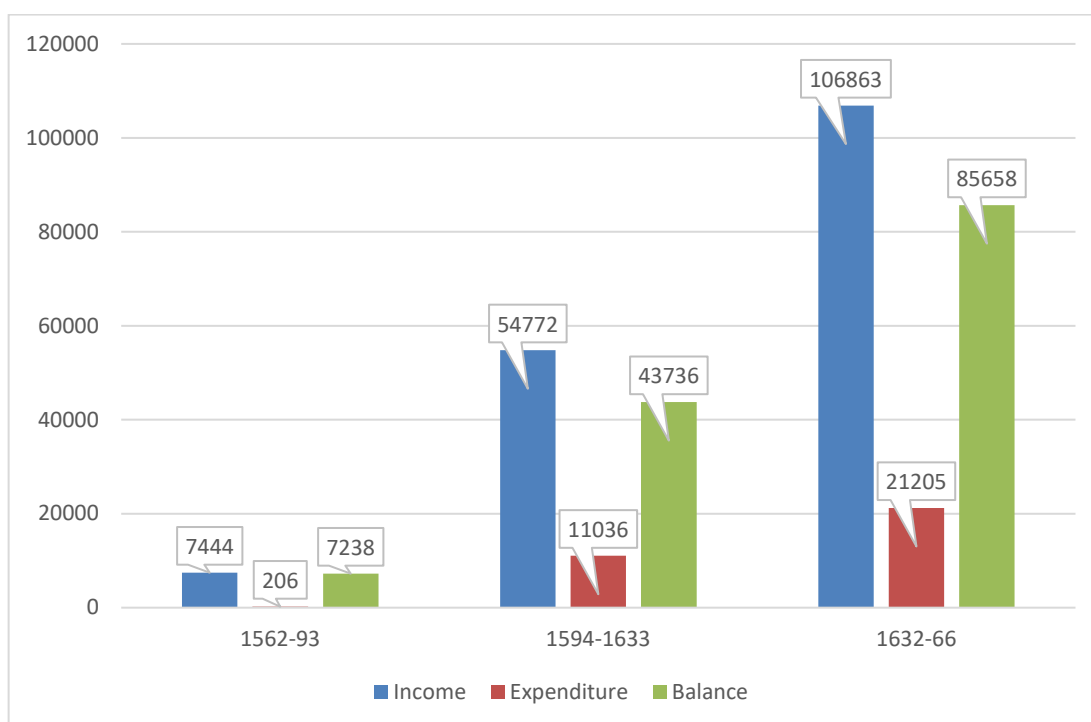
Figure 6-15 shows the increasing importance of income from land and property. As discussed above, the hospital built up a large property portfolio as the beneficiary of numerous legacies. The year with the highest income from rents is 1663 with £5,853 generated from property and expenditure relating to this of £900, or just over 15 per cent of the total receipts for that year.

¹⁷⁹ C.M.B. vol. 6, f. 131rv.

¹⁸⁰ L.M.A., CLC/210/G/BAA/001/MS12862, *Aldworth's charity: memoranda*; CLC/210/G/BAA/002/MS12863, *Richard Aldworth's charity: Account book 1648-1653*; CLC/210/G/BAA/003/MS12864, *Richard Aldworth's charity: expenditure and receipt book 1660-1663*; CLC/210/G/BAA/004/MS12865, *Richard Aldworth's charity: Court and committee orders relating to the administration of the charity*.

¹⁸¹ 'Extracts from the Court Books relative to a legacy of two thousand pounds bequeathed by Sir James Campbell' in *Extracts*, ed. by Bowen, pp. 53-58.

Figure 6-15: Income and expenditure from land & property to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

In addition to the normal administrative costs of running the property portfolio, many of the legacies that were used to purchase land and property came with conditions attached requiring payments to other beneficiaries. In 1666/7, 104 payments of this nature were made, amounting to £504 3s 10d, twenty-seven of which were from the legacy of Mary Ramsey.

The London cloth markets of Blackwell Hall, Worsted Hall and Bay Hall provided another source of income for the hospital. All woollen cloths and textiles being imported for sale into the city or liberties had to be brought to Blackwell Hall, where duty was paid. This was paid in two parts, a duty on sales and a further lodging charge paid on any cloths unsold at the end of the week. These were then stored at Blackwell Hall until the market re-opened the following week. The amount paid per piece of cloth in most instances remained the same during the period covered by this thesis: 1d on lengths of cloth up to 30 yards, and 2d on cloths exceeding 30 yards. Yorkshire kersey was charged per horsepack at a rate of 6d until 1612 and 8d thereafter, and Welsh cottons, Bridgewater and Manchester packs 8d per horsepack. Lodging charges were less clear cut. The charge for broadcloth was 1d per week after

one month in storage, but for Kendall cottons and Manchester, Welsh and Bridgewater packs, the charge was 8d per pack.¹⁸²

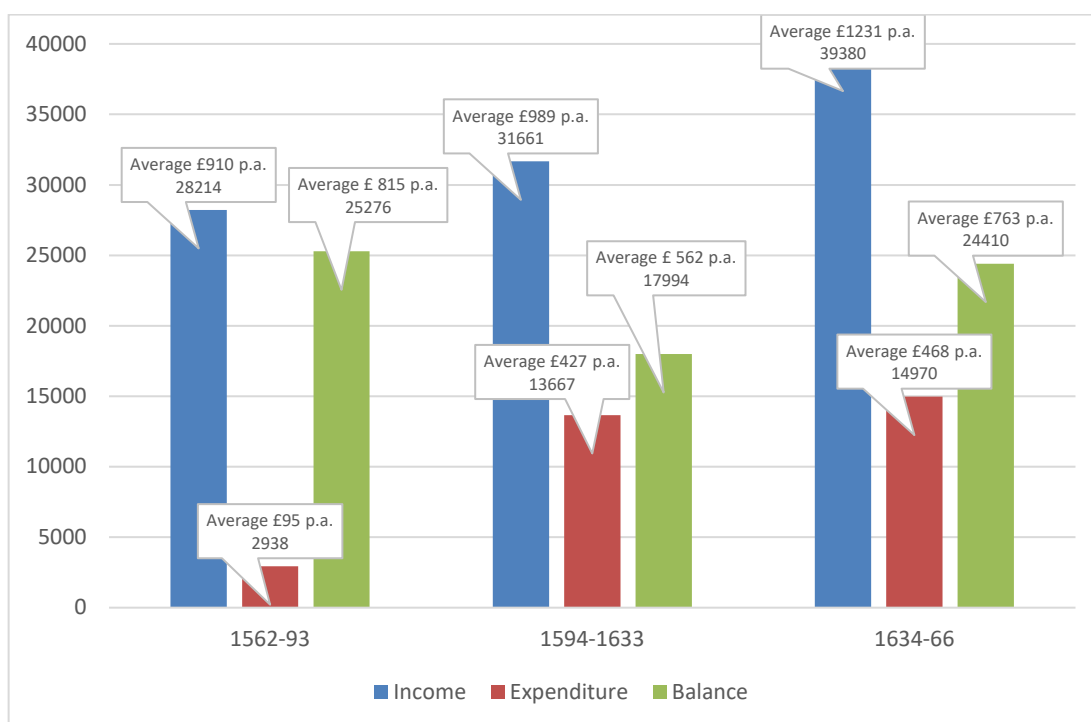
The hallage receipts were originally granted by the City to St. Bartholomew's in 1548, and then to St. Thomas's and Christ's Hospital in 1557.¹⁸³ The revenues from Blackwell Hall then passed exclusively to Christ's, St. Thomas's being granted the revenue from the lands of the Savoy. The accounts of Christ's Hospital record the income from Blackwell Hall but do not separate it into hallage and lodging charges, so it is not possible to differentiate between the two. Income from Bay Hall and Worsted Hall are accounted separately from 1575/6 (Bay Hall), and 1576/7 (Worsted Hall), until 1596/7. I have amalgamated the figures from Bay Hall and Worsted Hall with the Blackwell Hall figures. D.W. Jones highlighted the difficulties of using the figures in the accounts to analyse the London cloth market due to uneven accounting periods, and I have simply totalled the amounts in each accounting year, which gives a picture of the revenues received and expenses incurred, and the net balance in Figure 6-16.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Jones, *Hallage*, p. 572.

¹⁸³ 'Act of Common Council granting the profits of sundry offices to the Hospitals', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 81.

¹⁸⁴ Jones, *Hallage*, pp. 567-587.

Figure 6-16: Total income and expenditure of cloth halls to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

Although Blackwell Hall provided a substantial revenue stream for the hospital, collecting the money due was often a problem for the governors. Allegations of dishonesty amongst the officers and clerks of Blackwell Hall were numerous and hallage dues did not always reach Christ's Hospital. From 1585 the clerks at Blackwell Hall were required to swear an oath declaring their honesty, and surveyors were appointed periodically to oversee their work. The surveyors became a permanent feature in 1631 when six were appointed to oversee the market.¹⁸⁵ There were two types of clerk at the hall, those who worked within the hall, usually responsible for a particular type of cloth, and 'out clerks' who were responsible for collecting money due from cloths stored in private warehouses, as well as those sold illegally in inns or private houses. Officers who were found to be accounting dishonestly were dismissed and the hospital tried to recover the money due. Richard Oliver, one of the clerks, was dismissed in 1597 and Nathaniel Caple and Timothy Smart in 1657,¹⁸⁶ and a list of money owed to the hospital in the accounts for 1626/7 and 1627/8 shows £11 14s 2d owing by 'Mrs Hawes wife of George Hawes late one

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 574

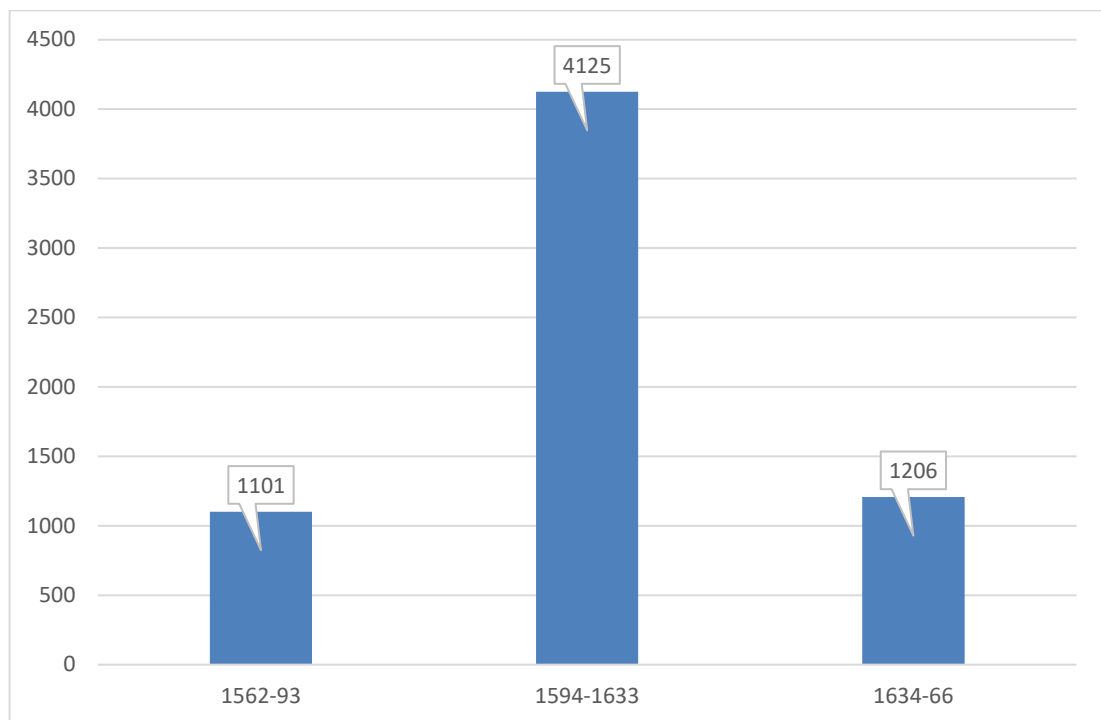
¹⁸⁶ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 93; Jones, *Hallage*, p. 578.

of the clerks of Blackwell Hall deceased oweth for her husband's collections'.¹⁸⁷

Merchants who tried to avoid paying duty were also prosecuted and Clement Devike was fined £3 in 1577 for selling cloth in his house.¹⁸⁸

The attendance of children at funerals has already been noted in Chapter 3, but it is difficult to accurately ascertain the amount of revenue that was raised from the attendance of children at funerals. A column in the charges register of the hospital is titled 'burials', but the first entry is in 1571/2, and it is likely that payments made for the children to attend burials were recorded in the benevolences column before this date. A separate record of attendance was also kept, but this is only available from 1622.¹⁸⁹ Figure 6-17 below shows revenue as detailed in the account books, and the individual entries are generally for small payments of a few pounds, although it is probable that, due to the vagaries of the hospital accounts in recording burial money, the totals are an underrepresentation of the amount actually received.

Figure 6-17: Money received for children attending funerals to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

¹⁸⁷ T.A., vol. 5, 1627/8.

¹⁸⁸ Archer, *Pursuit*, p.106.

¹⁸⁹ L.M.A: CLC/210/F/035/MS22566, *Record of attendance at funerals by pupils of the school as mourners 1622-1754*.

There is no information about the number of children attending each funeral in the account books. A typical entry from May 1620 reads: ‘Buryall of Mr William Butler in Coleman streete the somme of £2.’¹⁹⁰ It seems likely that children did attend funerals before this date but income was not recorded as a separate entry. The financial benefit of having children attend funerals for relatively small sums of money was questioned by the court in 1612, which decided that ‘henceforth the children of this house shall not go to any burial... for any lesse somme than £10 the same somme either to be paide beeforehand or else somme sufficient person to pass his word for the payment thereof to set his hand to the book’.¹⁹¹ This also implies that money promised was not always received. However, the stricture of a minimum payment of £10 was not implemented, and children continued to attend funerals for lesser amounts. Forty-nine funerals were recorded in the account books for 1620/1 with only one paying £10, all of the others paying between £2 and £5. The average amount paid was £2 10s.¹⁹²

As noted above, the register of attendance of burials only exists from 1622 but this does give some information on the number of children attending individual funerals, but only for larger legacies. James Searle was ‘to bee buryed on Ffriday next at two of the clocke in the afternoon to have 100 children for whose reliefe hee hath given by will (amount unrecorded), 8th October 1641’, while in 1657 Alderman Underwood had 100 children, ‘for whose reliefe hee hath given by will £100’.¹⁹³ In these instances attendance of children at the funerals was granted because of the amount of the bequest, so the income was recorded in the ‘legacies’ section of the accounts, without apportioning a proportion to the ‘burial money’ section of the accounts.

The attendance of children at funerals was clearly seen as a significant source of income by the governors. In response to the fashion in the seventeenth century for night-time funerals the governors, were prompted to contact the Bishop of London in 1630 to request that ‘the ministers in London may be restrayned from burying any

¹⁹⁰ T.A., vol. 4, 1620/1.

¹⁹¹ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 143.

¹⁹² T.A., vol. 4, 1620/1.

¹⁹³ L.M.A: CLC/210/F/035/MS22566, *Record of attendance*, f. 135rv.

persons in the night tymes as of late hath beene... to the intent this house may not bee hereafter deprived of the benefitt that may arise therby'.¹⁹⁴

The attendance of children at funerals declined over time according to both the treasurers' accounts and the attendance registers. Seventy-six funerals were recorded in the attendance register for 1623, which was down to eight in 1664. The treasurer's accounts for 1666 have only two entries under burials, one of which records a sum of £3 from Sir Robert Vyner (step-nephew to Sir Thomas Vyner) 'to provide Roasting Beefe for a dynner for all ye Children in this hospital for their service in attending on ye funeral of Thomas Vyner Esq dec. who gave by will 100L to this hospital'. The other is for £4 for 'Childrens service performed at ye ffunerall of Edward Wood Esq deceased'.¹⁹⁵

From 1580 the carmen of the city were under the control of the Company of Woodmongers. In 1582 control of the carmen was transferred to Christ's Hospital by the Court of Aldermen:¹⁹⁶ to enjoy 'all suche benefytt comodyte and advantage which shall aryse or growe by the same in as large and ample maner and sorte as the Companye of the Woodmongers of this Cytye heretofore have had and enjoyed'.¹⁹⁷ The number of carts allowed was fixed at 400: 200 in Cheapside, 100 in Southwark and 100 on the wood wharves. The Company of Woodmongers was unhappy with this and complained to the City but the decision was ratified by an Act of Common Council in 1586, although a further Act of Common Council in 1605 returned the governance of the carmen to the Company of Woodmongers on condition that it paid £150 per annum to Christ's Hospital.¹⁹⁸ In 1658 this was reversed and control of the carmen was restored to the hospital, but in 1661 the Act was repealed and control

¹⁹⁴ C.M.B., vol. 3, f. 505.

¹⁹⁵ T.A., vol. 9, 1666/7.

¹⁹⁶ Hylton B. Dale, 'The Worshipful Company of the Woodmongers and the Coal Trade of London,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 70.3648 (1922), p. 817.

¹⁹⁷ Eric Bennett, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen of London: a short history* (London: Barracuda Press, 1982), p. 23.

¹⁹⁸ *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, p. 105.

again returned to the Company of Woodmongers. This was then further reversed in 1665.¹⁹⁹

During the periods when the hospital was administering the carmen it received income in the form of an annual licence fee for each cart, and a fine when ownership of the cart was transferred. The maximum amount received in any year from this source was £224 (in 1597/8).²⁰⁰ The periods in which the Woodmongers were in charge should have resulted in a straightforward annual payment of £150, but the Woodmongers were reluctant to pay and the money was often not paid when due. A list of money owing to the hospital in 1623/24 has an entry for £302 10s ‘Owed by the Co Woodmongers out of the Government of Carrs at our Lady day last 1624’,²⁰¹ and every year between 1625/26 and 1634/35 the Woodmongers Company owed either a quarter’s, or a half year payment.

It can be seen from the data presented above that revenue increased substantially for the hospital in the period 1563-1666, and the hospital became less reliant on parish and City support and more dependent on rental income. However, the number of children under the care of Christ’s Hospital also increased, as did its expenditure.

6.5 Expenditure

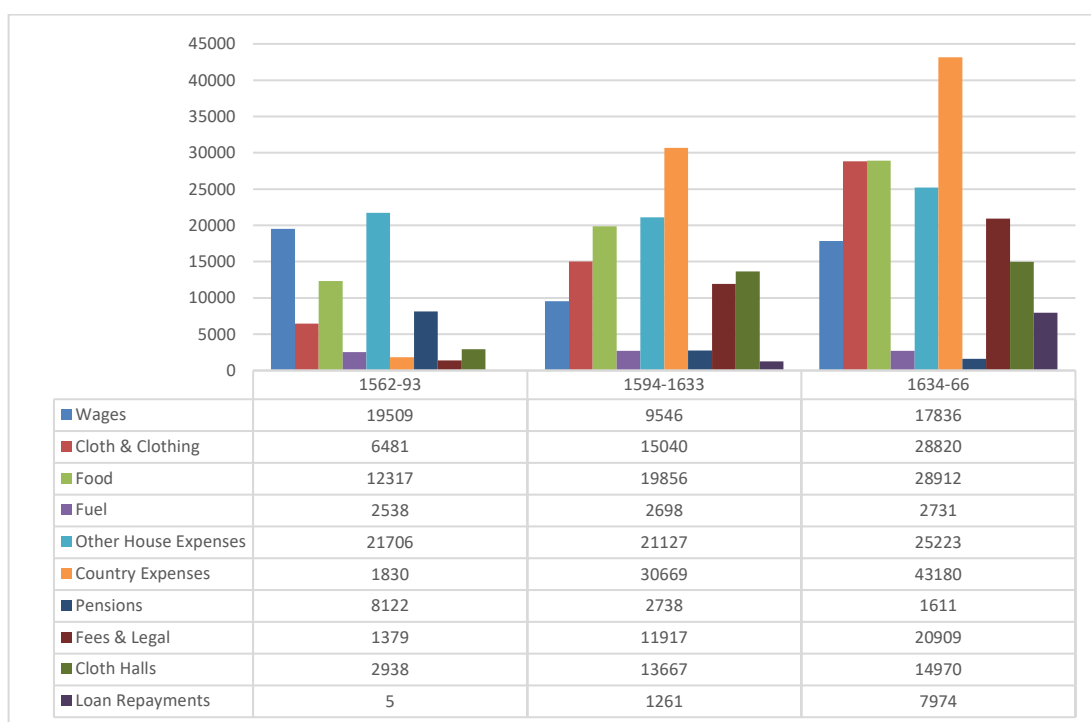
It is more problematic to analyse the hospital’s expenditure than its revenue, as the way in which items are recorded changes periodically. For example, expenses for nursing in the country were detailed separately in the accounts, but other expenses relating to children outside London were not. This changed in 1652, when ‘Carriage of Children to the Country’ and ‘Schooling in the Country’ were listed as separate categories. The purchase of fish was accounted for separately in 1553, 1555-1557, 1576-1581, 1590-1599 and 1602-1607. Fish was not listed as a separate category after this period and was probably recorded in the ‘necessaries’ category, a general entry for household expenditure, and as already noted, the purchase of candles was only recorded in some years. For the purpose of analysis, I have grouped expenditure into ten categories, as shown in Figures 6-18 and 6-19 below.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ T.A., vol. 2, 1597/8.

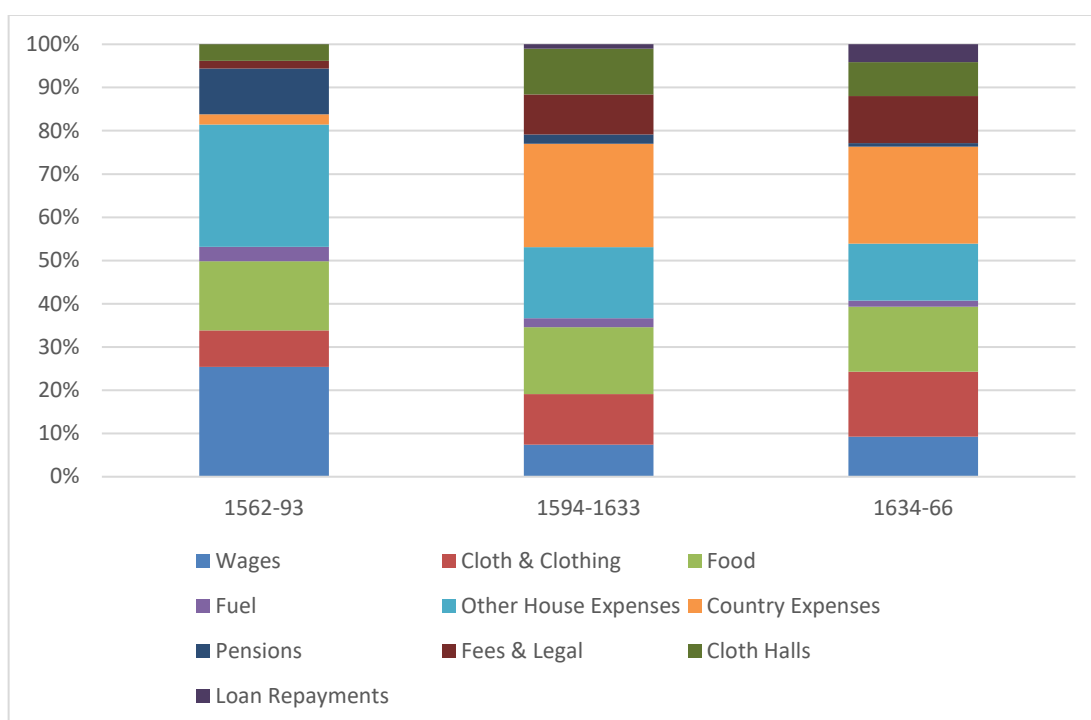
²⁰¹ T.A., vol. 4, 1623/4.

Figure 6-18: Categories of expenditure to nearest £*



* Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

Figure 6-19: Ratio of expenditure on different categories*



* Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

Christ's Hospital staff wages and allowances were listed under several categories. Nursing costs were recorded in two categories. 'Nursing Children in the City and Country' recorded wage payments to nurses working within the hospital, as well as

nurses outside; 'Board Wages' listed payments to the matron and nurses of the hospital, including payments for board and lodgings. 'House Officer Fees' listed payments to other hospital staff and included both salary and allowances for board. There was a separate entry for the payment of wages at Blackwell, Worsted and Bay Halls. John Howes helpfully lists the initial salaries of key officers in his 1582 manuscript. The clerk was paid a total of £10 per annum in salary and livery; two porters were each paid £6 including livery; the grammar school master was paid £15 (whilst the usher of the grammar school was paid £10); and two masters of the petty school and a teacher of 'pricksonge' £2 13s 4d each. The children were cared for by a matron who received £3 6s 8d a year plus a livery and 18d per week (£3 18s p.a.) for her board, and twenty-five nurses who each received £2 per year plus livery and 16d per week (£3 9s 4d p.a.) for board. Robert Ballthroppe, a surgeon, was paid £10 per annum, and a second surgeon £4. The butler and under-butler were paid £6 13s 4d and £2 respectively, while the cook received £8.²⁰²

Nursing outside the hospital was by far the biggest wage cost as shown in Figure 6-20 below. However, the data for the period 1562-89 was taken from Manzione, and she combined nursing in the hospital and in the country, meaning that during the period 1562-93 the amount paid for 'nursing in' is greater, and the 'nursing out' figure less, than they should be. External nurses were paid between 7d and 12d per week for every child, although it is not clear on what basis the amount was calculated. Andrew Honylane, a foundling aged eight weeks, was sent to Elizabeth Martin of Newington at 12d per week on 7 November 1566, yet on the same date Arthure Rychardson, aged two, was sent to Jone Brickley of Coliar Row at 8d per week.²⁰³ The admission registers only record the amount paid to nurses in a small number of cases, as payments were also recorded in another 'nurse Book'. As noted in Chapter 3, the nurse books only survive from 1659 and only record payments made, not details of children. The admissions register ceased recording whether children were sent to nurse or kept in the hospital in 1594.

Nurses within the hospital were paid a salary and an amount for board, initially £2 per year plus livery and £3 9s 4d for board. By 1657/8 the salary had been increased

²⁰² Howes, *Manuscript*, pp. 35-37.

²⁰³ Allan, *Admissions*, p.74.

to £9 2s but board payments had decreased to £3 per annum. Elizabeth Sharlow the matron was paid the same salary as the nursing staff but received a further £4 for board and a total of £5 4s 8d for two maids. In 1666/7 the salaries for the matron and nursing staff were the same as in 1657/8.²⁰⁴

The next largest category of wage expenses was payments to the officers of the house. Again, in most cases payments were made in two parts, wages and board. The clerk received £10 per annum in salary and livery in 1553 but by 1657/8 William Parrey, the clerk, was paid a £30 stipend with no mention of livery. He was still in post in 1666/7 when his payment had increased considerably to £74 8s, although there is no breakdown in the accounts as to how this was made up.²⁰⁵ Howes recorded that there were two porters at the hospital's inception, each paid £6 including livery, but in the accounts for 1657/8 only one is recorded, at a salary of £20.²⁰⁶ In 1666/7 two payments were made to the porter Henry Bannister, one for £10 for '1/2 a yeares sallary due Michaelmas 1666', and one for £5 'for 1/2 a yeares sallary due Lady Day 1667',²⁰⁷ seemingly a decrease in pay of £5, although it is likely that this was the result of cost cutting following the fire of London when some staff were laid off and others had their salaries cut. The hospital saved £160 8s 8d in this way.²⁰⁸

The other category of wage payment was for the officers and clerks at Blackwell Hall. In 1562 one keeper, three servants, five clerks and six porters were employed, but the number of clerks had increased to eleven by the 1570s (although there were no servants by that time). Between 1570 and 1640 the average total wage cost was £175 per annum, increasing to £275 in the 1680s.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ T.A., vol. 9, 1657/8, 1666/7.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 1657/8, 1666/7.

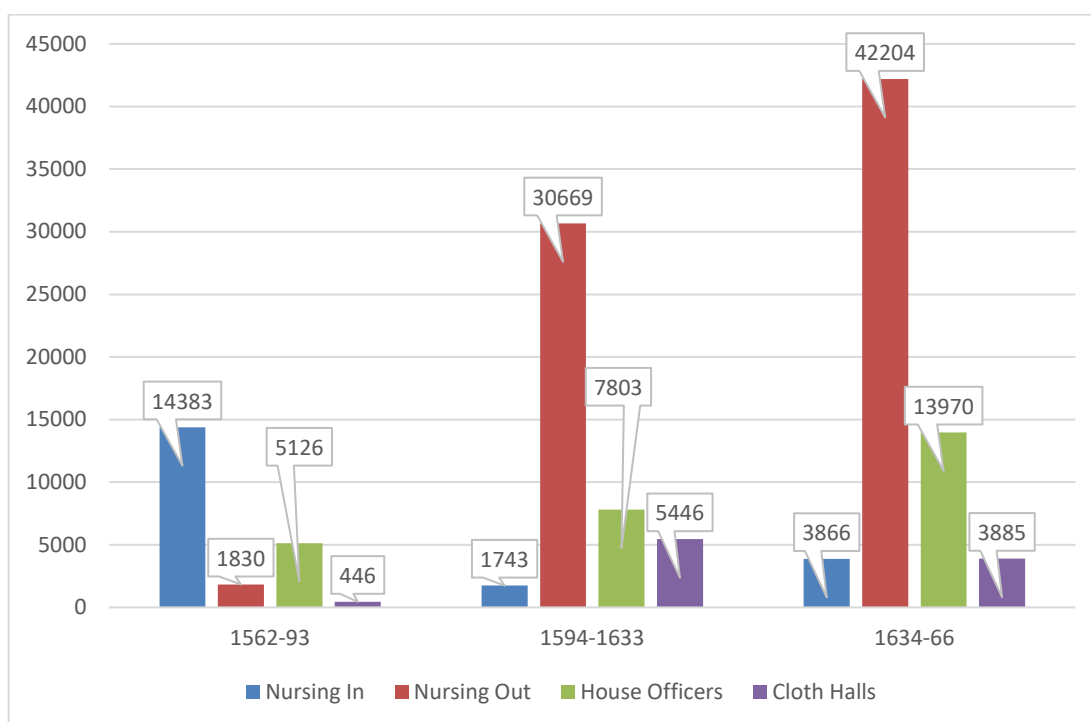
²⁰⁶ Ibid, 1657/8.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 1661/7.

²⁰⁸ Pierce, *Annals*, p. 211.

²⁰⁹ Jones, *Hallage*, p. 574

Figure 6-20: Wage payments to nearest £*

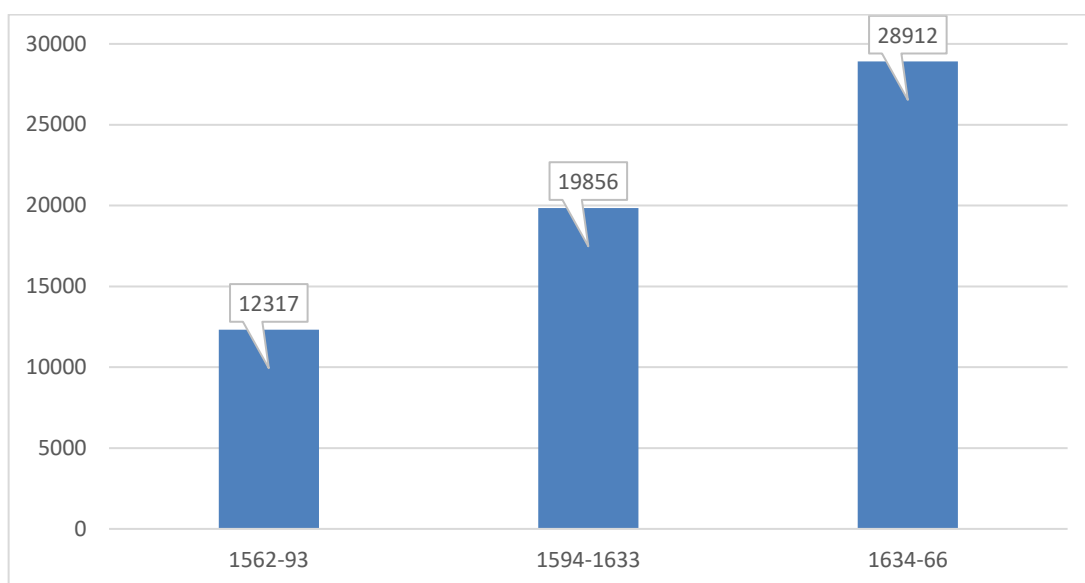


*Nursing costs from 1553-1590 are taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70 and she combined nursing in the country and hospital into one category.

As noted above there is a difficulty in breaking down general expenditure because of the way in which items were at times listed separately, and at other times included in the grab-all category of Necessaries.

Food is one area in which categories were for the most part accounted for separately. Bread, beer, meat, butter and cheese were all consistently recorded as separate categories in the accounts although fish is recorded only sporadically, and not at all after 1607/8. This may be because fish was not a regular weekly expenditure – it was only eaten during Lent and it may therefore not have been considered worthwhile to account for it other than in the ‘necessaries’ category. The diet of the children is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Figure 6-21: Itemised expenditure on food to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

As would be expected, annual expenditure on clothing and cloth to make clothing increased as the number of children being cared for increased. From 1567/8 until 1581/2, the amount spent on cloth and clothing was recorded in an addendum to the accounts, but after this period it was just recorded in the main body of the accounts.²¹⁰ As with other categories the way in which items were recorded varied over time, according to the treasurer. It is not generally possible to distinguish between cloth that was purchased for clothing or for other purposes, with one exception in 1642/3 when £10 10s was spent on 'coverlets for the children's beds' and a further £43 1s 6d on 'bedding'.²¹¹ Another anomaly in the accounts is that purchases of shoes were recorded between 1591/2 and 1595/6, but then disappeared from the accounts until 1629/30; after this they were recorded every year until 1666/7. During the tenure of Richard Glyd as treasurer annual payments were recorded to a tailor for making clothes, presumably for the children and officers of the house. Payments ranged from £14 9s 6d in 1652/3 to £66 13s 9d in 1661/2.²¹² When William Gibbon took over in 1662/3 payments to the tailor were no longer recorded, nor were they itemised during the tenure of any other treasurer. This is

²¹⁰ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 111.

²¹¹ T.A., vol. 6, 1642/3.

²¹² T.A., vol. 8, 1652/3; vol.9, 1661/2.

another example of the frustration of trying to accurately itemise the expenditure of the hospital.

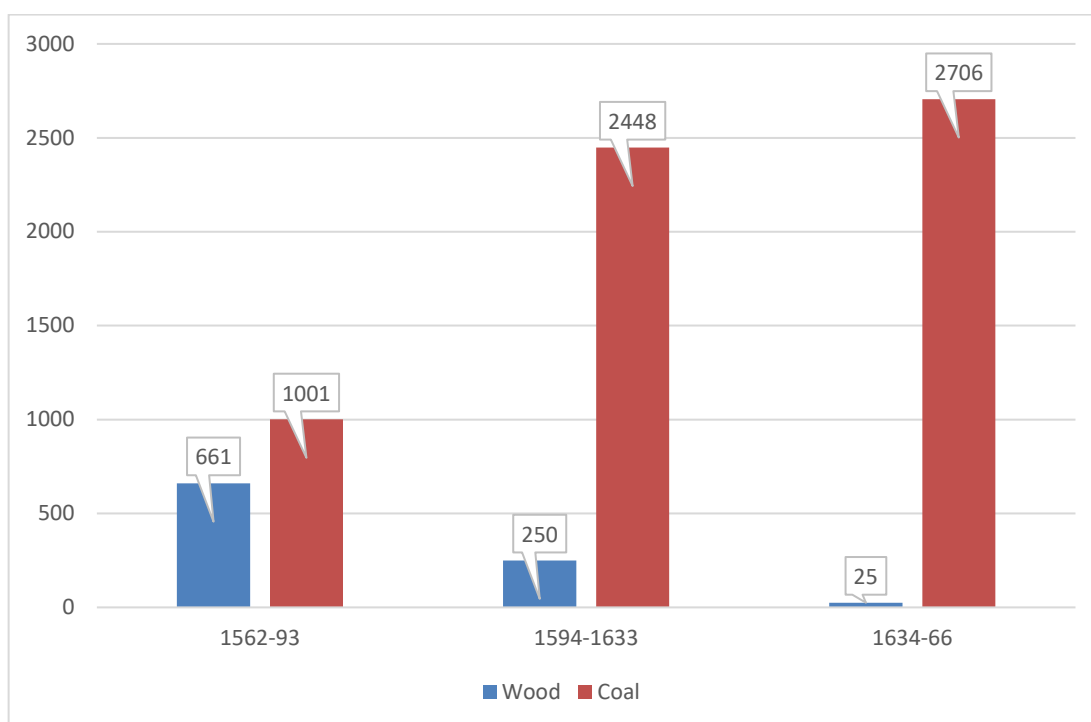
The hospital accounts show two sources of fuel for heating, coal and 'billet' (wood), but as Figure 6-22 shows, coal was the primary source of fuel for the hospital. This reflects the switch away from wood as a fuel during the early modern period, as a result of soaring timber prices due to deforestation.²¹³ Coal was not a popular choice of fuel for cooking and heating before the 1560s, being generally regarded as both noxious and unpleasant, but the increasing cost of wood eroded the prejudice against its use, and by the early seventeenth century the use of coal in London was widespread.²¹⁴ The treasurers' accounts list only the monetary value, without recording the amount purchased, making it impossible to know whether the increased spending on coal was due to price rises, or the increased population of the hospital. Rappaport reports that coal prices rose by 57 per cent from 1550-9 to 1600-9, compared to a 61 per cent rise in the price of faggots, and Boulton shows a fall in the price of coal between 1590 and 1600 from approximately 15s to 14s per London chaldron, but then increasing to around 21s in 1635.²¹⁵

²¹³ John U. Nef, 'An Early Energy Crisis and Its Consequences', *Scientific American*, 237.5 (1977), p. 140.

²¹⁴ Rappaport, *Worlds*, pp. 144-5.

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. 145; Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: a London suburb in the 17th century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 44

Figure 6-22: Fuel purchased to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

One area of expenditure that was remarkably low was the expenses incurred by the governors. The maximum amount paid was £93 in 1610/11, and of the sixty-seven years in which accounts are available between 1590 and 1666, expenses were only recorded in twenty-six of these years. The main item in this expenditure was 'view dinners', i.e. dinner when one or more of the governors was involved in inspecting property owned by the hospital.

The children's medical care was provided by the salaried surgeon and nurses but occasionally extra payments were made during periods of high sickness. In 1654/5 a total of £27 was paid 'In regard there hath beene much sickness amongst the children of this house ye last summer 30 or 40 being sick together it was thought fitt to give ye Doctors and Nurses several gratuities'.²¹⁶ During the plague year of 1665 an entry was made for 'extraordinary charges for the nurses attendance in the sickward of this hospital in the time of the visitation this year', and a total of £20 3s was paid to them.²¹⁷ During the same year £40 was given to other staff after:

²¹⁶ T.A., vol. 8, 1654/5.

²¹⁷ T.A., vol. 9, 1665/6.

Severall Officers and Servants resident in this hospitall presented their peticon declaring that dureing all this time of sickness and mortallitie they had been resident and carefull in the faithfull discharge of their severall offices and places; ... And that God had given such a blessing to their endeavours that all this time of sickness not more than 32 children of the number of 260 in the house are dead... They humbly prayed the court would be pleased to bestow something upon each of them.²¹⁸

As previously stated, until 1598 the governors of Christ's Hospital received collections from the parishes and redistributed them and pensions paid to the poor were listed in the annual accounts. The hospital was also briefly responsible for paying pensions to the lepers of the Savoy until 1557, when responsibility for this passed to St. Thomas's.²¹⁹ Pensions were sometimes paid for short periods during times of difficulty for the recipient. In 1563/4 a pension of 8d a week was granted to a man 'till God send him health or have gotten [him] into one of the hospitals', and in 1565/66, £107 3s 4d was 'paid to succour divers poor in the time of plague'.²²⁰ Ex-employees of the hospital were also sometimes granted pensions or benevolences. In 1594 Margaret Backesteper, a former nurse, was granted a pension of 6d per week 'in consideration of her poor estate,' and Dorothy Farant, the girls' teacher, was given £10 in 1642 'for a benevolence granted by the governors of this house upon her departure from this hospital'.²²¹ It can be seen in Figure 6-23 below that pensions paid by Christ's Hospital fell dramatically in the seventeenth century, reflecting the increasing divergence of the hospital and parish poor relief.

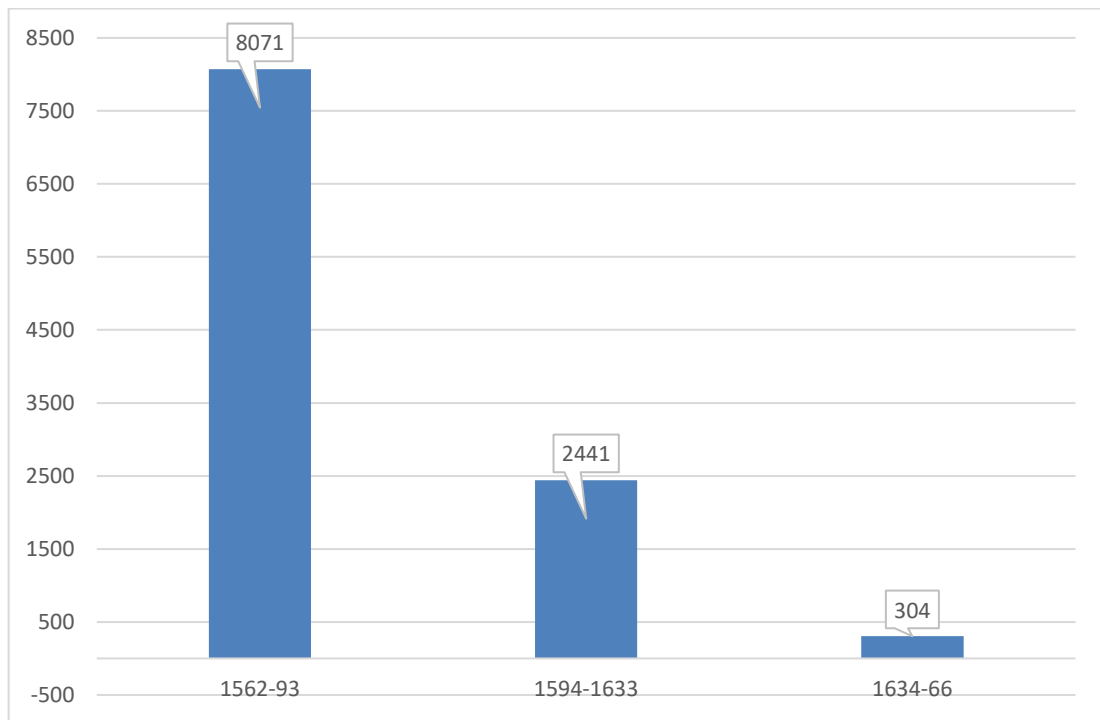
²¹⁸ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 210v.

²¹⁹ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 110.

²²⁰ Quoted in Daly, *Hospitals*, p. 343.

²²¹ Quoted in Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 110; T.A., vol. 6, 1642/3.

Figure 6-23: Pensions paid to nearest £*



*Data for the period 1562-90 is taken from Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, pp. 64-70

Apart from weekly payments to nurses in the country it is difficult to assess how much was spent on maintaining children outside of London as although 'nursing in the country' was always detailed separately in the accounts, no other expenses were recorded separately until 1652/3, when 'carriage of children to the country' and 'schooling in the country' were listed as separate categories. These were obviously not new expenses for the hospital, but beginning to record them separately may reflect the growing size and importance of the hospital's role outside London, and also a need to monitor operations in the country more effectively. The treasurer reported in 1662 that 'hee had received a letter from the Maior and the rest of the Corporacon at Hertford compaining of the Nurses and children, their gloaning begging and otherwayes misbehaveing themselves'. The response of the court was to instruct the treasurer to 'remove such children away from the Nurses as are of considerable ages into this house, That they may have their educacion heere'.²²² The number of children already being cared for at that time would have made it difficult to transfer a large number back to London, and this may have some bearing on the decision to open a school in Hertford in 1682.

²²² C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 105v.

6.6 Conclusion

Section 6.2 showed the complexity of the administrative structure necessary for the running of a large and growing institution. The hospital's unpaid governors had responsibilities and tasks over and above attending occasional court meetings, under the overall supervision of the treasurer. It was also shown that the treasurers of Christ's Hospital, who were all common councilmen, showed a considerable commitment to the hospital with most serving much longer than the two year term that was recommended by the hospital ordinances, and effectively halting their progression up the hierarchy of City government. None of the treasurers, apart from possibly one, were elected aldermen. In contrast to the treasurers, the presidents were much less involved in the hospital's day-to-day operation, and the degree of interest they exhibited was variable: Sir Wolstan Dixie when president attended no meetings at all in the year 1592/3, whereas Sir William Craven was more assiduous attending nearly all court meetings during his tenure as president in the period 1611-18.²²³ Day-to-day operations were also carried out by paid officers of the hospital, the most important of whom was the clerk.

The disparity in the attendance at court meetings between governors who were aldermen and the common councilmen on the court was seen, as was the growing move away from direct control by the City to a more independent position at both Christ's Hospital and Bridewell, and the attempts by the Court of Aldermen to reassert its dominance.

The fact that the treasurers' accounts are incomplete, and that there are inconsistencies in the way in which information is recorded by different treasurers, means that it is difficult to get a detailed picture of the hospital's finances, particularly of the expenses which were incurred. It is possible however, to track the changes in the way in which the hospital supported itself, and see how it adapted to, and supported, the increasing numbers of children in its care.

In examining the revenue and expenditure of the hospital it was seen that, at its foundation, the hospital was primarily funded by parish collections, and that the fact that control of the poor rate was in the hands of Christ's Hospital from 1563 to 1598

²²³ Manzione, *Christ's Hospital*, p. 43; Archer, *Craven*.

gave it the upper hand in the allocation of resources between itself and outdoor relief provided by the parishes. This changed in 1598 and control reverted to the parishes, resulting in a subsequent fall in revenue. The first instance of the hospital borrowing money to meet operating costs occurred at this time, when thirty of the governors lent a total of £155 to the hospital.²²⁴ As shown in sections 6.7 and 6.8 the City became involved in resolving the financial difficulties facing the hospital, by organising loans from the Bridge House, and also instructing the parishes to contribute to the hospital.

The seventeenth century saw the hospital's reliance on parish collections diminish, to be replaced by income from benevolences and legacies. As a result of this, a sizeable property portfolio was amassed. This became the hospital's primary source of income, and it became more independent as a result. The increasing numbers of children however, severely compromised the hospital's ability to live within its means and it turned increasingly to borrowing money to cover shortfalls in revenue. This problem became particularly acute in the 1660s when, at times, the hospital was unable to meet its obligations to pay for essential supplies such as food and clothing, and had to borrow money to meet these costs, a problem exacerbated by the failure to collect all moneys to which it was due. This is most strikingly exemplified by the substantial legacy of Richard Aldworth, worth £7,400,²²⁵ designated in 1646 but still not received in 1666, even though the hospital had been maintaining forty children as a condition of the will.

A cursory look at the account books shows a seemingly well-run institution in which expenditure matches income, with some years showing a small surplus. Closer examination, however, reveals that the hospital was on the brink of insolvency for much of the period covered here. It was only able to continue functioning during the sixteenth century thanks to emergency interventions from the City, and thanks to hastily arranged loans during the seventeenth. Despite this Christ's Hospital continued to grow throughout the seventeenth century and became a substantial landlord in the city. The hospital also maintained increasing numbers of children, both in the city and in the country, reaching a high point of 1,002 in 1658, and there

²²⁴ T.A., vol. 2, 1598/9.

²²⁵ C.M.B., vol. 6, f. 92.

is no evidence that the care provided to the children suffered. Although the treasurer and governors could be criticised for allowing numbers of children to increase beyond the point where the hospital was comfortably able to provide for them, or for not reducing expenditure, their actions in borrowing money to cover shortfalls in income were not dissimilar to the City's approach to its own finances, and the administrative structure detailed in this chapter proved to be up to the task of managing the care and education of up to 1,000 children.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate how, and how far, Christ's Hospital was able to live up to the ambitions and intentions of its foundation: to care for the spiritual and physical health of the children, and to educate them and ultimately turn out young adults with the opportunity to become useful and productive citizens. The various hospital ordinances and charges to governors and officers set out these ambitions. The *letters patent of King Edward VI to the Lord Mayor and commonalty of the city* are very clear in their instruction that 'children yet being in their infancy shall [not] lack good education and instruction, nor when they shall obtain riper years shall be destitute of honest callings and occupations, whereby they may honestly exercise themselves in some good faculty and science for the advantage and utility of the commonwealth'.¹ However, by 1679, Joshua Barnes, the Greek scholar, antiquary, and Christ's Hospital alumnus, criticised the hospital's governors for losing sight of the intentions of the founders, that Christ's Hospital should be more than a workhouse for poor children. He described the hospital as: 'Originally design'd, for a more Noble Seminary, and as it were a Furnace, to melt down, and to new-mould the Sons of decay'd Families, and to set them up again, in as good a plight as formerly'.² He also asserted that, rather than continuing the tradition that able children should be educated so that they might gain a university place, the governors were pursuing a policy where 'Digging and Delving, and Spinning [are] prefer'd, as the most useful way of Education', and making the accusation that 'our Foster-Fathers are even ready to Disinherit us of that Patrimony, which belongs to our Souls; to deprive us of the Food of Knowledge, and of the Apparel of Wisdom'. The fact that Barnes himself (admitted to Christ's Hospital on 12 January 1656/7 aged three) went on to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, on 11 December 1671, graduating B.A. in 1675/6, and M.A. in 1679,³ rather undermines his case. Barnes and another student from Christ's Hospital had an exhibition from the hospital worth £30 per annum for the whole period of their university education.⁴ The purpose of

¹ 'Letters Patent of Edward VI', in *Memoranda*, ed. by Firth, Appendix, p. 65.

² Barnes, *Apology*, p. 7.

³ C.R., vol. 4, f. 8; *ACAD*, BNS671J.

⁴ Barnes, *Apology*, p. 11.

this thesis, however, has been to look beyond the rhetoric and search for the reality behind the lofty ideals.

The basis of the investigation has been the collation and analysis of the records of almost 9,000 children admitted to the hospital between 1552 and 1666, in order to better understand the nature of Christ's Hospital as an institution during that period. The analysis of admissions to Christ's Hospital showed that the number of children under its care increased dramatically between 1552 and 1666, from its initial intake of 380 children to reach a high point of 1,002 in 1658/9. The discussion of the formal admissions policy of the hospital showed that the governors demonstrated remarkable flexibility in applying the policy, often ignoring it totally. This was seen particularly when applied to the requirement that children should be over the age of four years on admission: it was shown that just over 40 per cent of boys and 60 per cent of girls admitted in the period 1563-99 were below the minimum age of four years, and although the numbers of very young children reduced in the seventeenth century, under fours still accounted for 20 per cent of boys and 25 per cent of girls admitted in the period 1633-66.

It was also shown that, although the number of children below the age of four was considerable, the most prevalent age range on admission was between four and eight. This differed slightly according to gender, and the mean age of girls on admission was lower than that of boys. In the latest period examined (1634-66) 64 per cent of boys and 66 per cent of girls admitted fell into this group. The gender ratio of children admitted to the hospital was approximately 2:1 in favour of boys, which possibly reflected contemporary perceptions of the perceived benefit in expending resources on boys rather than girls. This was also reflected in the gender of foundlings accepted into the hospital, albeit with a slightly reduced ratio of approximately 3:2 in favour of boys.

In order to gain further insight into the background of the children, the guild membership or occupation (where known) of fathers was analysed. From this it was shown that the largest occupational category of fathers between 1563 and 1666 was those employed in the cloth and clothing trades. The ratio of fathers employed in cloth and clothing related endeavours increased in the seventeenth century, from 41.93 per cent to 46.97 per cent between 1600 and 1633, and to 47.15 per cent in the

period 1634-66. This is an unsurprising finding in view of the importance and prevalence of those industries in early modern London. The individual occupations in which fathers were engaged did change over time, showing an increasing number of children with fathers who were engaged in the weaving industry, increasing from twenty-eight (1.6 per cent of the total cohort) in the period 1563-99, to 114 (4.46 per cent) between 1600 and 1633, 220 (8.59 per cent) in the period 1634-66. The discharge data examined in chapter four also showed that a preponderance of boys were apprenticed to masters involved in the cloth and clothing trades. Where data is available it shows that around 50 per cent of boys were apprenticed to masters engaged in the cloth and clothing industries in the period 1563-1634, dropping to just over 40 per cent in the period 1635-70, indicating that for many children admission to Christ's Hospital did not result in apprenticeship to a higher trade than their fathers. The increased incidence of children of fathers with occupations in the weaving trade is matched in the discharge data. The proportion of children being discharged to masters described as weaver, linen weaver or silk weaver increased from 23 per cent in the period 1563-99, to 33.33 per cent between 1600 and 1634, and 54 per cent in the period 1635-70.

The flexibility of the admissions process was also noted in the hospital's ability to admit children temporarily in situations of family emergency caused by illness, bereavement or incarceration, as in the case of Nicholas Harison, admitted on 19 July 1567 until his father William, 'being now vexed with frenzy', recovered.⁵ This is not to say that the hospital took any child who needed admission: the number of children under the care of the hospital increased dramatically during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leading to periods during which the hospital had to refuse admissions.

Examination of the main sources of referral to Christ's Hospital (the city parishes, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen) showed that throughout the whole period of this study (where admissions data is available), the most common route for children to be admitted was via a parish. Over 80 per cent of admissions in all time periods occurred in this manner, with the proportion actually increasing slightly over time, from 81.48 per cent in the period 1563-99 to 84.47 per between 1600 and 1633, and

⁵ Alan, *Admissions*, p. 52.

84.06 per cent in the period 1634-66. This demonstrates the hospital's continuing adherence to the original intent that it should be an institution caring for the poor children of the city. It is true that benefactors to the hospital, and prominent citizens, could circumvent normal admissions requirements and were able to nominate children for admission even when they did not meet the admissions criteria, but it was also shown that most children admitted in this way were in genuine need of care, rather than children from an otherwise stable background for whom an advantage in life was being sought.

Information on the actual experience of the children is limited, particularly for children being maintained outside the hospital, but from the information available it seems clear that the standard of physical care was adequate, at least by contemporary standards. The children's diet was sufficient, if not extravagant, and could probably be compared to a good workhouse diet. Medical care was provided in-house and the hospital had its own sickward. The physicians and surgeons who attended to the children were well qualified by the standards of the day and often eminent practitioners. This is indicative of an intention to provide good quality care to the children in a period where the poor and sick were often reliant on the ministrations of unqualified practitioners. An examination of the data on mortality at the hospital illustrated the difficulty in accurately assessing the mortality rate, but did evidence an improving survival rate in the seventeenth century.

The thesis also showed that education, both academic and vocational, was an important component of a child's experience of life at Christ's Hospital. A petty school, reading school, writing school, music school and grammar school were provided, as well as a girls' school. The education provided in the grammar school was comparable to that delivered by other schools of the period. Miu Sugahara's analysis of schools producing alumni prominent enough to merit inclusion in the *ODNB* showed Christ's Hospital to be comparable with Charterhouse, St. Paul's, and the Merchant Taylors' schools,⁶ and boys from Christ's Hospital did sometimes gain university places.

⁶ Sugahara, *Suburban grammar schools*, p. 160.

Most children from Christ's Hospital were not destined for the universities and it is more difficult to gain information on the fate of these children. In the sixteenth century around 70 per cent of boys and 50 per cent of girls left with either apprenticeships or domestic service positions arranged. In the seventeenth century the proportion of apprenticeships or service arrangements fell to 34 per cent for boys, and 20 per cent for girls. This reduction may be explained by the much increased population of children being discharged during the seventeenth century: the hospital discharged a total of 791 children in the period 1563-99 but 2,418 in the period 1636-70, making it logistically much more difficult to find masters or mistresses for such a large number. However, it seems likely that the number of confirmed apprenticeships recorded in the discharge registers understates the actual number of children going on to apprenticeship or a formal service contract, since many children were recorded as being discharged to a person with whom they had no obvious familial connection. It is likely that many, perhaps most, of these discharges were in fact apprenticeship or domestic service arrangements.

The analysis of the hospital discharges also highlights a theme of this thesis, that overall, the hospital was a caring institution and was interested in the welfare of the children. This is evidenced by the way in which the hospital continued to assume responsibility for some of the children when apprenticeships proved unsuitable, and in some cases when masters mistreated their apprentices, by admitting them back into the hospital and making new arrangements for them. The sparse use of the apprentice school at Bridewell, to which only ten children were recorded as being discharged between 1563 and 1670, indicates that Christ's Hospital had higher aspirations for the children in its care. Another illustration of this is the treatment of children discharged back to their families, when financial support in the form of pensions was sometimes provided. Likewise, we saw evidence that the hospital financially supported scholars at university over and above the value of their exhibitions, by granting *ex gratia* payments to pay for books and other living expenses.

The analysis of the hospital's finances showed the shift in the main revenue sources from support by the parishes of the city to being dependent on income from legacies and an increasingly large property portfolio. City and parish collections made up

34.44 per cent of the hospital's total revenue in the period 1562-93, but between 1634 and 1666 this had dropped to 0.44 per cent. Conversely, rental income rose from 9.43 per cent of total revenue to 49.77 per cent in the same periods. The revenue from Blackwell Hall, granted by the City in 1557, was considerable, but so were the costs of running the hall and overall profits averaged only £468 per annum in the period 1634-66. The other revenue stream granted by the City was the receipts from licensing the carmen in the city, although this was of limited value to the hospital.

The analysis of finances also showed how the hospital became reliant on borrowed money to cope with financial deficits during the seventeenth century, resulting in its being just over £6,000 in debt in 1662/3. The debt had been reduced to £4,363 in 1666/7, the end point of this thesis. Despite the increasing financial pressures of the seventeenth century, no evidence was found for any lessening of the quality of care provided to the children, although the hospital did periodically halt or reduce admissions in order to reduce the overall population. The fact that the treasurers' accounts are incomplete, and that there are inconsistencies in the way in which information is recorded by different treasurers, meant that it was more difficult to get as detailed a picture of the hospital expenditure as of the income, but it was possible to track the changes in the way in which the hospital supported itself, and see how it adapted to, and supported, the increasing numbers of children in its care.

The complexity of the administrative structure necessary for running a large and growing institution, maintaining children both inside the hospital in Newgate Street as well as children at nurse in the country, was examined in Chapter 6. We saw that the unpaid governors of the hospital had responsibilities and tasks over and above attending court meetings, and had specific supervisory responsibilities, as almoners or scrutiners, for example. The treasurer was a man of considerable power within the hospital, and the role was very much a 'hands on' one, with responsibilities that went beyond controlling the financial matters of the hospital, encompassing all areas of hospital management, a similar role to that of a chief executive officer in a modern company. The treasurers of the hospital were all common councilmen, and in the main served much longer terms than the two years recommended in the hospital ordinances. John Cogan served as treasurer for eighteen years, and only one of the

fourteen treasurers between 1552 and 1666 gave up the position after two years. By remaining in the position for so long the treasurers effectively settled for a career as civic bureaucrats, halting their own progression up the hierarchy of City government. None, apart from possibly one, became aldermen. Day-to-day operations were also carried out by paid officers of the hospital, the most important of whom was the clerk.

In contrast to the treasurers' role, that of president was much more similar to a figurehead, with little involvement in the day-to-day operation of the hospital. If the treasurer was akin to a chief executive officer, then the president was akin to the chairman of a company. The presidents were all aldermen who had previously served as Lord Mayor, and the degree of involvement they had in the workings of the court of Christ's Hospital varied according to the person holding the position.

The data analysed in this thesis has shown that the governors of Christ's Hospital did their best to provide help for the many poor children of early modern London, but in many ways they became victims of their own success, and the demand for help exceeded the resources available to them almost from the start, leading to financial difficulties and the necessity to halt admissions during certain periods. The logistical challenge of caring for so many children in different locations was huge, and the hospital was not of course able to help every child that came into its care. The much-increased population of children in the seventeenth century stretched the hospital's resources, almost to breaking point. However, throughout the whole period covered by this thesis the primary method of entry was via a parish vestry, strongly indicating that in practice, even though the financial bond between the hospital and parishes ceased, Christ's Hospital was still fulfilling its original remit, to care for city children. The governors also demonstrated a remarkable flexibility in the way the hospital's operations were carried out and demonstrated a willingness to 'go the extra mile' for the children in their care. Although the hospital was never going to be able to completely solve the problems that it set out to, the task being simply too large, for many children Christ's Hospital did provide the conditions not just to survive childhood, but actually to begin adult life with the opportunity to prosper.

Appendix 1

Figure 7-1: Chronological list of Christ's Hospital alumni who attended university and their subsequent careers 1570-1671⁷

Name & C.H. dates	University	Post university career	Sources ⁸
John Prestman. C.H. ?-15/6/1566.	Oxf. B.A. 20/06/1570, M.A. 26/06/1574.	Haversham 1572-4, Emberton Bucks 1574.	<i>Adm.</i> 43; <i>Exh.</i> 15; <i>Alu.</i> 1181-208.
Andrew Castelton. C.H. ?-?	Sizar Magdalene, Camb. 1569, B.A. 1572, M.A. 1575.	Ordained deacon, Peterborough, 25/11/1576, rector St. Martin Ironmonger Lane 1577-1617.	<i>Adm.</i> 15; <i>ACAD</i> , CSTN569A.
Richard Colfe. C.H. ?-9/04/1569.	Matric. Christ Church Oxf. 1569, B.A. 26/02/1571/2, M.A. 05/05/1575, D.D. 30/06/1608.	Preached Paul's Cross 1577, Vicar Cumnor, Berks, 1578, Yattendon, Berks, 1581, Frilsham, Berks, 1581, Monkton & Birchington, Kent, 1585, Milton, Kent 1586, Herne Rector with Harbledown, Kent, 1590, Prebendary and Sub Dean Canterbury Cathedral, 1608.	<i>Adm.</i> 8, 40; <i>Exh.</i> 16; <i>Alu.</i> 304-37.
Richard Dawtrey. C.H. 22/05/1563-20/03/1570/1.	Matric. Queens Camb. 1571, B.A. 1574/5, M.A. (Peterhouse) 1578. Exhibition Grocers' Co.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 47; <i>Exh.</i> 16; <i>ACAD</i> , DWTY571R.
Edward Harris, C.H. ?-?	Oxf. B.A. 04/02/1579/80. Exhibition Drapers' Co.	Vicar Coleshill, Berks, 1599.	<i>Adm.</i> p. 42; <i>Exh.</i> 16; <i>Alu.</i> 652-78.
William Harris. C.H. 19/02/1563/4-20/03/1572/3.	Sizar, St. John's Camb. B.A. 1576, M.A. 1579. 'Sent to the University at the charge of a gentleman whose name is not yet to be known'.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 57; <i>Exh.</i> 17.

⁷ Only children who can be found in the admission records of the hospital have been included in this table. Allan lists several scholars in *Exhibitioners* who were probably day pupils at the grammar school, and these have been excluded.

⁸ *Adm: Christ's Hospital Admissions Vol.1 1540-1599*, ed. by George A.T. Allan (London, 1937); C.R.: CLC/210/F/003/MS12818/001-004, Children's registers 1563-1669; *Exh: Christ's Hospital exhibitioners to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1566-1923*, ed. by George A.T. Allan (London, 1924); *ACAD - A Cambridge Alumni Database*, <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk>; *Alu: Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ed. by Joseph Foster (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1891), British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714> [accessed 5 December 2020]; *CCEd: The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>.

Anthony Dodd. C.H. ?-1573.	St. John's Oxf. B.A. 1576, M.A. 1579. Exhibition Goldsmiths' Co.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 43; <i>Exh.</i> 17.
John Knightley. C.H. 19/08/1560-?	Sizar Clare, Camb, 1571, 'preferred to the University of Cambridge by Mr. Robert Twyford of Swanson in Cambridge'.	Ordained deacon 29/09/1575, priest 21/12/1576, vicar of Guilden Morden, Cambs 1575-1618.	<i>Adm.</i> 15, 39; <i>Exh.</i> 18; <i>ACAD</i> , KNTY571J; <i>CCEd</i> , PID: 30703.
Walter Richardson. C.H. 24/11/1561-?	Sizar, Christ's, Camb 1573. Exhibition Fishmongers' Co.	Ordained deacon (London) 1580, priest 1581, probably vicar of Sunbury, Middx.	<i>Adm.</i> 22, 41; <i>Exh.</i> 18; <i>ACAD</i> , RCRT573W.
John Cobbe. C.H. ?-19/05/1576.	Sizar Queens, Camb.1576, B.A. (Peterhouse) 1580, M.A. 1583.	Ordained priest (Peterb.) 30/03/1591, Schoolmaster Landbeach school, Landbeach, Cambs. 1581. Rector South Luffenham, Rutland, 1581.	<i>Adm.</i> 35; Allan, <i>Exh.</i> 19; <i>ACAD</i> , CB576J.
Edward Beck. C.H. 06/04/1564-?	Sizar Gonville & Caius, Camb. 16/10/1576, B.A. (Pembroke) 1580/1	Ordained deacon (London) 27/04/1587, priest (London) 24/02/1588/9. Preacher diocese of London 04/05/1586, preacher St. James Garlikhithe 04/05/1587, Curate St. Benet Sherehog 26/04/1587	<i>Adm.</i> 65, 41; <i>Exh.</i> 19; <i>ACAD</i> , BK576E; <i>CCEd</i> , PID: 42698.
Roger Smith. C.H. 23/05/1573-17/02/1577/8.	Matric. Pembroke, Camb 1581. Exhibition Haberdashers' Co.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 112; <i>Exh.</i> 19; <i>ACAD</i> , SMT581R3.
Thomas Colfe. C.H. 30/10/1563-1578.	Matric. Broadgates Hall, Oxf. 1578. B.A. (St. Mary Hall) 1581, M.A. (Broadgates Hall) 1584. Exhibition Salters' Co.	Rector St. Mary Bothaw, London, 03/08/1589. Perpetual vicar Fulrook chapel and Burford, Oxf. 09/06/1600,	<i>Adm.</i> 52; Allan, <i>Exh.</i> 19; <i>Alu.</i> 304-337; <i>CCEd</i> , PID 40469.
John Woodcocke. C.H. 3/11/1576-1579.	Sizar, Queens', Camb. 1579, Migrated to St. Mary Hall, Oxf. 27/11/1581. B.A. 08/02/1582/3, M.A. 03/07/1585.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 139; <i>Exh.</i> 20; <i>ACAD</i> , WDCK579J; <i>Alu.</i> 1674-697.
William Lewis. C.H. 26/06/1568-27/02/1579/80.	Matric. Broadgates Hall, Oxf. 28/04/1580	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 83; Allan, <i>Exh.</i> 20; <i>Alu.</i> 892-921.

Gabriel Bowman. C.H. 11/07/1573-10/05/1580. Adm. from Goldsmiths' Co.	Matric. Magdalen Hall, Oxf. 24/11/1581, B.A. 06/02/1583/4, M.A. 28/06/1587. Exhibition Clothworkers' Co.	? Ordained deacon 17/05/1588, priest, 26/06/1590, curate St. Andrew Hubbard, London, 26/06/1590	<i>Adm.</i> 114; <i>Exh.</i> p. 20; <i>Alu.</i> 142-70; <i>CCEd</i> , PID 62832.
Thomas Austen. C.H. 22/11/1572-10/05/1580.	Magdalen Hall, Oxf. B.A. 1585. Exhibition Vintners' Co.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 107; <i>Exh.</i> 20.
John Brigges. C.H. 17/08/1577-08/10/1582.	Matric. Magdalen Hall, Oxf. 09/11/1582. Exhibition Clothworkers' Co.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 144; <i>Allan</i> , <i>Exh.</i> 20; <i>Alu.</i> 171-200.
Robert Chambers. C.H. 22/01/1569-08/10/1582.	Matric. St. Mary Hall, Oxf. 12/10/1582. B.A. Broadgate Hall, 16/02/1586/7, M.A. 07/07/1590. Exhibition Vintners' Co.	Unknown.	<i>Allan</i> , <i>Adm.</i> 91; <i>Exh.</i> 21; <i>Alu.</i> 255-73.
Robert Cragge. C.H. 12/06/1574-8/10/1582.	Matric. Christ Church, Oxf. 31/05/1583. Preferred by the Earl of Leicester.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 123; <i>Exh.</i> 21; <i>Alu.</i> 338-65.
Richard Lane. C.H. 27/10/1576-07/12/1583.	Matric. All Souls, Oxf. B.A. 23/03/1590/1.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 138; <i>Exh.</i> 21; <i>Alu.</i> 868-92.
Thomas Merrist. C.H. 22/04/1581-30/04/1589.	Matric. Gonville & Caius, Camb. B.A. 1592, M.A. 1596.	Curate Bromley St. Leonard, Middx. 1597/8.	<i>Adm.</i> 163; <i>Exh.</i> 21.
Daniel Hearne. C.H. 29/01/1579/80-19/05/1592.	Sizar, Peterhouse, Cambs. 06/04/1593. B.A. 1595/6, M.A. 1601, B.D. 1614. Maintained by the gift of Mr. Dicksone.	Vicar Henley, Suffolk, 1607, Vicar Bramford, Suffolk, 1623-31.	<i>Adm.</i> 156; <i>Exh.</i> 21; <i>ACAD</i> , HN593D.
Hugh Green. C.H. 25/03/1592/3-?	Sizar, Peterhouse, Camb. c 1601. B.A. 1605/6, M.A. 1609. Exhibitions Mary Ramsey and Thomas Dutton	Became a Roman Catholic. Ordained Deacon Arras, France 08/03/1612/3. Priest 14/06/1612. Chaplain to Lady Arundell, Chideock Castle, Dorset. Executed at Dorchester. 19/08/1642.	<i>Adm.</i> 156; <i>Exh.</i> 21; <i>ACAD</i> , GRN601H2.
James Hyat. C.H. 27/03/1596-?	Sizar Peterhouse, Camb. B.A. 1610, M.A. 1614, B.D. 1621.	Curate Thriplow, Cambs. Vicar Chidwall, Lanes. 1624/5, rector & vicar Croston 1625-62, ejected for non-conformity, curate at Wigan 1662.	<i>Adm.</i> 245; <i>Exh.</i> 22; <i>CCEd</i> PID: 27689.

Thomas Salisbury. C.H. 07/08/1596-?	Sizar Peterhouse, Camb. 1606/7, B.A. 1610/11, M.A. 1614, B.D. 1621.	Ordained deacon, London, 1612/13, priest 30/05/1613.	<i>Adm.</i> 247; <i>Exh.</i> 22; <i>ACAD</i> , SLSY606T.
Thomas Brackley. C.H. 24/10/1601-?	Sizar Peterhouse, Camb. 1610/1, B.A. 1614/15, M.A. 1618. Incorporated at Oxford 1619.	Vicar Ugley, Essex 1619-30, rector Colne Engaine, Essex 1628-52.	<i>C.R.</i> 1.326; <i>Exh.</i> 22; <i>ACAD</i> , BRKY610T; <i>Alu.</i> 142-70.
William Clarke. C.H. 25/05/1596-?	Sizar Peterhouse, Camb. 1614. B.A. 1617/8, M.A. 1621.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 253, <i>Exh.</i> 22, <i>ACAD</i> , CLRK614W.
William Mariat. C.H. 18/02/1599/00-?	Matric. St. John's, Oxf. 20/03/1617/8.	Unknown.	<i>Adm.</i> 263, <i>Exh.</i> 22, <i>Alu.</i> 956-982.
William Heath. C.H. 25/02/1606/7-?	Sizar Peterhouse, Camb. 11/02/1617/8. Transferred to Lincoln College, Oxf. but took no degree there. Exhibition Mary Ramsey.	Unknown.	<i>C.R.</i> 1.355; <i>Exh.</i> 22; <i>ACAD</i> , HT617W.
Peter Browne. C.H. 15/05/1604-?	Sizar Peterhouse, Camb. 1621, B.A. 1624/5, M.A. 1628.	Ordained deacon, London, 23/09/1627.	<i>C.R.</i> 1.333; <i>Exh.</i> 23; <i>ACAD</i> , BRWN621P.
Richard Mourton. C.H. 27/03/1613-?	Matric. St. John's, Oxf. 04/07/1623. B.A. Gloucester Hall 08/02/1625/6, M.A. 07/07/1628.	Vicar Spondon 1629, rector Sudbury, Derbs. 1646.	<i>C.R.</i> 1.408; <i>Exh.</i> 23; <i>Alu.</i> 1026- 049.
Soloman Richardson. C.H. 20/03/1612/3-?	Matric. Exeter College Oxf. 13/12/1622. B.A., Gloucester Hall, 08/02/1625/6, M.A. 10/07/1628.	Unknown.	<i>C.R.</i> 1.406; <i>Exh.</i> 23; <i>Alu.</i> 1250- 277.
Elias Corlet. C.H. 05/04/1619-11/10/1626	Matric. Lincoln College Oxf. 16/03/1626/7.	Schoolmaster Framlingham, Suffolk, 1635, Master Lady Ramsey free grammar school, Halstead, Essex, 1636-9, Schoolmaster Massachusetts, 1641-86.	<i>C.R.</i> 2.11; <i>Exh.</i> 23; <i>Alu.</i> 304-37.
John Fitzwilliams. C.H. 05/04/1619-28/12/1628.	Matric. Peterhouse Camb. 14/10/1628. B.A. 1632/3, M.A. 1636.	Ordained priest, Lincoln, 19/09/1641.	<i>C.R.</i> 2.12; <i>Exh.</i> 23; <i>ACAD</i> , FTSS628J.

Ezekiel Cheever. C.H. 03/04/1626-27/04/1633.	Matric. Emmanuel Camb. 12/01/1632/3.	Went to Boston, Massachusetts, 1637, Master New Haven Grammar School, 1638- 50, schoolmaster Ipswich? USA 1650-61, Charleston? USA 1661- 70, Boston, Mass. 1670- 1708.	C.R. 2.86; <i>Exh.</i> 24; <i>ACAD</i> , CHVR632E.
Thomas Stephenson. C.H. 12/04/1620- 21/02/1633/4.	Matric. Pembroke College, Oxf. 27/06/1634. B.A. 24/10/1637, M.A. 30/06/1640.	? Rector of Lewes, St. Thomas in the Cliffe 1660, St. John's Southover, 1661.	C.R. 2.25; <i>Exh.</i> 24; <i>Alu.</i> 1394- 422.
William Moses. C.H. 28/03/1632-02/05/1638.	Sizar Pembroke College, Camb. 1639, B.A. 1643/4, M.A. 1647, Fellow c1644, Master 1654-60 ejected.	Practised law. Adm. Inner Temple 02/07/1661 & Gray's Inn 03/05/1665. Serjant at Law 1688, Counsell to the East India Co.	C.R. 2.143; <i>Exh.</i> 24; <i>ACAD</i> , MSS639W.
Richard Perrinchief. C.H. 15/04/1625-?	Sizar Kings College, Camb. 1637, B.A. (Magdalene), 1641/2, M.A. 1645, D.D. 1663. Fellow Magdalene College until 1650, ejected.	Ordained deacon & priest, Lincoln, 03/07/1646, rector St. Mildred Poultry 1661- 73, Preb. Westminster 1664, Preb. St. Paul's 1667, Sub-almoner to Charles II, Archdeacon Huntingdon, 1670-3, rector St. Mary Colechurch, 1672. Died 31/08/1673. Buried Westminster Abbey.	C.R. 2.63; <i>Exh.</i> 24; <i>ACAD</i> , PRNF637R.
Benjamin Harrison. C.H. 31/05/1627-?	Matric. St. John's College, Oxf. 01/04/1642.	Unknown.	C.R. 2.107; <i>Exh.</i> 25; <i>Alu.</i> 652-78.
George Heyer. C.H. 20/04/1641-?	Sizar Trinity College, Camb. 20/01/1649/50. Migrated to Gonville & Caius College. B.A. 1653/4, M.A. 1657.	Ordained deacon, Lincoln, 08/06/1661, priest 10/06/1661, vicar Steeple Bumpstead, Essex, 1662-65, curate Weathersfield, Essex, 1662.	C.R. 3.69; <i>Exh.</i> 25; <i>ACAD</i> , HHR649G.
George Johns. C.H. 02/04/1642-?	Exeter College, Oxf. 1652.	Went to sea.	C.R. 3.75; <i>Exh.</i> p. 25.
William Wills. C.H. 05/04/1642-?	Matric. Exeter College Oxf. 29/03/1656, B.A. 1659.	?Vicar of Horley, Surrey.	C.R. 3.85; <i>Exh.</i> 25; <i>Alu.</i> 1626- 54.
Thomas Shippey. C.H. 04/04/1653-10/06/1658	Sizar Pembroke College, Camb. B.A. 1661/2.	Unknown.	C.R. 3.187; <i>Exh.</i> 25; <i>ACAD</i> , SHPY658T.

Thomas Perkins. C.H. 14/03/1647/8- 16/04/1660.	Sizar Trinity College, Camb. 07/05/1660. B.A. 1663/4.	Deacon & priest, London 24/09/1664, vicar St. Stephen's, St. Albans, Herts. 1664-68, vicar Horley, Surrey, 1668-71, rector Colne Engaine, Essex, 1671- 86.	C.R. 3.115; <i>Exh.</i> 25; <i>ACAD</i> , PRKS660T.
John Lyde. C.H. 15/03/1648/9- 16/04/1660.	Matric. Exeter College, Oxf. 28/05/1661. B.A. Gloucester Hall, 18/01/1664/5.	Unknown.	C.R. 3.134; <i>Exh.</i> 26; <i>Alu.</i> 921-55.
James Hewlett. C.H. 05/04/1647-27/09/1661.	Matric Christ Church, Oxf. 03/05/1662. B.A. 23/02/1665/6, M.A. 1669.	Unknown.	C.R. 3.94; <i>Exh.</i> 26; <i>Alu.</i> 748-84.
John Warner. C.H. 15/03/1648/9- 15/01/1662.	Sizar Peterhouse 1663. Exhibition Mary Ramsey.	Died before 13/03/1664/5.	C.R. 3.139; <i>Exh.</i> 26; <i>ACAD</i> , WNR663J.
Thomas Norton. C.H. 02/05/1655-25/05/1664.	Sizar Emmanuel College Camb. 10/06/1664. B.A. 1667/8, M.A. 1671.	Ordained deacon, Ely, 20/12/1668, vicar Clavering, Essex, 1690- 1701, vicar Horley, Surrey, 1671-1701.	C.R. 3.214; <i>Exh.</i> 26; <i>ACAD</i> , NRTN664T.
John Parker. C.H. 04/04/1653-25/05/1664.	Sizar Emmanuel College Camb. 10/06/1664. B.A. 1667/8, M.A. 1671. Fellow 1670-5.	Ordained deacon, Ely, 24/09/1670, vicar Dicking, Sussex, 1674, vicar Clavering, Essex, 1675, rector Colne Engaine, Essex, 1690- 1718.	C.R. 3.183; <i>Exh.</i> 26; <i>ACAD</i> , PRKR664J.
Thomas Brice. C.H. 04/04/1653-25/05/1664.	Sizar Emmanuel College Camb. 10/06/1664. B.A. 1667/8, M.A. 1671.	Ordained priest, Peterborough, 03/03/1671/2, Usher & catechizer of C.H. grammar sch. 1673, Assistant to Shadrach Helmes in teaching town children. Rector Wolverston & Chelmondiston, Suffolk, 1687-1701.	C.R. 3.187; <i>Exh.</i> 26; <i>ACAD</i> , BRY664T.
George Cox. C.H. 02/05/1655-17/01/1666.	Sizar Peterhouse, Camb. 05/02/1666/7. Exhibition Mary Ramsey.	Unknown.	C.R. 3.213; <i>Exh.</i> 27; <i>ACAD</i> , CKS666G.

Joseph Haswell. C.H. 01/05/1655- 22/03/1668/9.	Matric. Pembroke College, Oxf. 03/04/1669. B.A. 1672. Incorporated at Cambridge 1675, M.A. Emmanuel College, Camb. 1675.	Rector North Benfleet, Essex, 1685-1733.	C.R. 3.220; <i>Exh.</i> 27; <i>ACAD</i> , HSWL675J; <i>Alu.</i> 679-705.
Joseph Worting. C.H. 16/03/1659/60-?	Sizar Emmanuel College, Camb. 11/12/1671. B.A. 1675/6, M.A. 1679.	Ordained deacon, London, 11/03/1676/7. Master Guilsborough Grammar School, Guilsborough, Northants.	C.R. 4.45; <i>Exh.</i> 27; <i>ACAD</i> , WRTN671J.
Joshua Barnes. C.H. 12/01/1656-?	Sizar Emmanuel College, Camb. 11/12/1671. B.A. 1675/6, M.A. 1679, B.D. 1686. Incorporated at Oxford 1706. Fellow 1678- 1701.	Regius Professor of Greek 1695-1712.	C.R. 4.8; <i>Exh.</i> 27; <i>ACAD</i> , BNS671J; <i>Alu.</i> 51-78.

Bibliography

Primary sources: Manuscripts

London Metropolitan Archives

Christ's Hospital

CLC/210/A/004/MS22513, Miscellaneous notes and abstracts concerning the foundation of Christ's Hospital, Bridewell and St. Thomas's Hospital.

CLC/210/B/001/MS12806/001/001-006, Court minute books 1556-1677.

CLC/210/B/004A/MS22515, Abstracts of court minutes, 1552-1786.

CLC/210/B/005/MS12811/001-003, Committee minute books 1654-1669.

CLC/210/C/001/MS12819/001-009 Treasurers' account books, 1552-1666.

CLC/210/C/003/MS12820/001-004: Treasurers' cash books, 1624-1625, 1647-1648, 1654-1655, 1655-1656.

CLC/210/C/008/MS12821/001-003, Treasurers' day books, 1652-1657.

CLC/210/C/012/MS12825/001-009, Acquittance alias receipt books, 1647-1649, 1651-1661, 1663-1668.

CLC/210/C/013/MS12848, Account book of receipts and payments for rebuilding Worcester Hall in Blackwell Hall.

CLC/210/D/001/MS12828/001, Letter book 1579-1585, 1624-1638.

CLC/210/D/004/MS22533, Miscellaneous papers relating to Blackwell Hall and Leadenhall.

CLC/210/D/017/MS22548, Account relating to the, 'maiden children' of Christ's Hospital taught reading and sewing by Anna Harrison.

CLC/210/E/001/MS12829, Records of annual receipts and payments relating to the administration of cars and carrooms by Christ's Hospital, 1582-1600.

CLC/210/E/002/MS12830, Volume of Memoranda of carrooms, 1664-1759.

CLC/210/F/003/MS12818/001-004, Children's registers 1563-1669.

CLC/210/F/010/MS12860/001-008, Nurse books 1659-1667.

CLC/210/F/035/MS22566, Record of attendance at funerals by pupils of the school as mourners 1622-1754.

CLC/210/G/A/001/MS12812/001, Register of benefactions, legacies etc. 1552-1820.

CLC/210/G/A/001A/MS22581, List of lands and tenements belonging to Christ's Hospital, 1562-1631.

CLC/210/G/A/001B/MS22582, List of legacies given to Christ's Hospital 1563-1715.

CLC/210/G/A/002/MS12815/001, Will books 1552-1702.

CLC/210/G/A/003/MS12816/001, Will book 1638-1749.

CLC/210/G/A/003C/MS22585/002, Probate copies of wills 1546-1889.

CLC/210/G/A/004/MS12805, Evidence book, register of lands 1610.

CLC/210/G/A/004A/MS35934, Deeds to parcels of land 1470-1631.

CLC/210/G/A/006/MS12826/001, Rent rolls and annual accounts (rough) 1653-1654.

CLC/210/G/A/008/MS12834/001-002, View books 1622-1722.

CLC/210/G/A/009/MS12879/001, Register of leases 1660-1673.

CLC/210/G/A/015/MS22588, Title deed and other papers relating to property near the town ditch.

CLC/210/G/A/017/MS22589, Petition from the governors of St. Thomas's Hospital to the lord mayor and aldermen of the City of London for the settlement of a dispute relating to income from lands within the precinct of Christ's Hospital.

CLC/210/G/A/018/MS22590, List summarising leases of lands in the town ditch and tenements without Aldersgate, 1639-1730.

CLC/210/G/BAA/001/MS12862, Richard Aldworth's charity: memoranda and account book 1642- 1649.

CLC/210/G/BAA/002/MS12863, Richard Aldworth's charity: Account book 1648-1653.

CLC/210/G/BAA/003/MS12864, Richard Aldworth's charity: expenditure and receipt book 1660-1663.

CLC/210/G/BAA/004/MS12865, Richard Aldworth's charity: Court and committee orders relating to the administration of the charity.

CLC/210/G/BKC/001/MS13414A, Robert Kitchin's gift: brief note of the major gifts in Kitchin's will.

CLC/210/G/BLE/001/MS13446B, John Locke's gift; deed of covenant between the executors of John Locke and the Governors of Christ's Hospital, whereby in consideration of £1,000 from John Locke's estate, the governors agree for ever to take and educate eight children of freemen of the City of London, to be chosen as specified in the deed, 20 January 1635. Also two copies of 'A briefe recital of indenture of covenants between the executors of John Locke and the governors of Christ's Hospital', 26 October 1632.

CLC/210/G/BRB/041/MS13583, Dame Mary Ramsey's gift: deeds relating to the maintenance by the governors of Christ's Hospital of a grammar school in Halstead, Essex.

CLC/210/G/BRB/051/MS13593, Dame Mary Ramsey's gift: deeds relating to several messauges and tenements.

CLC/210/G/BRB/052/MS13594, Dame Mary Ramsey's gift: deeds and associated papers relating to the manor of Horley.

CLC/210/G/BRB/114/MS13654, Dame Mary Ramsey's gift: deeds and associated papers relating to the manor of Duxhurst.

CLC/210/G/BRC/004B/MS22692, Sir Thomas and Dame Mary Ramsey's gift: lease.

CLC/210/G/BRC/004C/MS22693, Sir Thomas and Dame Mary Ramsey's gift: lease.

CLC/210/G/BSE/001/MS13813, David Smith's Gift: contemporary copy will of David Smith, citizen of London and embroiderer to Queen Elizabeth I, 1587.

Parish records

DRO/110/001, Composite register St. John the Baptist, Hillingdon.

P69/ALH1/G/01/001, Vestry minute book, All Hallows, Barking by the Tower, 1629-1669.

P69/ALH8/A/001/MS05160/001, Register of burials 1558-1654, All Hallows the Less.

P69/BOT1/B/001/MS01453/001-002, Vestry minute book, St. Botolph Aldersgate, 1601-1679.

P69/BOT2/A/015/MS09222/002, Register of burials, St. Botolph Aldgate, 1625-65.

P69/BOT2/B/012/MS09235/001-002, Churchwardens' account book, St. Botolph Aldgate, 1547-1691.

P69/BOT3/B/006/MS00942A, Churchwardens' accounts relating to poor relief, 1598-1663.

P69/BOT4/A/001/MS04515/001, Composite register, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, 1558-1628.

P69/CTC/B/005/MS09163, Poor rate ledger, Christ Church Newgate Street, 1634-1704.

P69/HEL/A/001/MS06830/001, Register of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1575-165, St. Helen Bishopsgate.

P69/GIS/A/002/MS06419/001, Register General, St. Giles Cripplegate.

P69/JS2/B/028/MS04817/001, Poor account book, St. James Garlickhithe, 1654-1738.

Primary sources: Contemporary printed sources (pre-1750) (consulted on Early English Books Online and last checked October-December 2020)

[Anon.], *A psalme of thanksgiuing, to be sung by the children of Christs Hospitall, on Munday in the Easter holy dayes, at Saint Mary Spittle, for their founders and benefactors Anno Domini. 1610* (London: s.n, 1610), STC (2nd ed.) / 5208.5.

[Anon.], *A psalme of thanks-giuing, to be sung by the children of Christs Hospitall, on Munday in Easter holy dayes, at Saint Maries Spittle, for their founders and benefactors* (London: s.n, 1628), STC (2nd ed.) / T3908.2.

[Anon.], *A psalme of thanks-giving to be sung by the children of Christs-Hospital, on Monday in the Easter Holy-dayes, at S. Maries Spittle, for their founders and benefactors. Anno Domini 1641* (London, s.n, 1641), Wing (2nd ed.) / P4137.

[Anon.], *A true report of the great costs and charges of the foure hospitals in the city of London in the maintenance of their great number of poore, this present yeare... as followeth* (London: s.n, 1644-5), Wing (2nd ed.) / T3091, T3092.

[Anon.], *A true report of the great costs and charges of the five hospitals in the city of London in the maintenance of their great number of poore this present yeare... as followeth* (London: s.n, 1647-50), Wing (2nd ed.) / T3086, T3087, T3088, T3089.

[Anon.], *A true report of the great costs and charges of the five hospitals in the City of London under the care of the lord mayor, commonalty and citizens of London in the maintaining of a very great number of poore the yeare last past* (London: s.n, 1653), Wing (2nd ed.) / T3090.

[Anon.], *A true report of the great number of poor children, and other poor people maintained in the severall hospitals by the pious care of the Lord Mayor, Commonalty and citizens of the city of London* (London: s.n, 1655-6, 1658, 1660), Wing (2nd ed.) / T3093, T3094, T3094A, T3094B.

Barnes, Joshua, *A Sermon preach'd on St. Mathew's Day at Christ's Church before the Right Honourable Sir William Gore, Kt., Lord Mayor, the aldermen and governours of the severall hospitals of the City of London. With An Apology for the Orphans of Christ's Hospital* (London, 1703).

Church of England., *Constitutions and canons ecclesiasticall treated upon by the Bishop of London, president of the convocation for the province of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops and clergie of the said province: and agreed upon with the Kings Maiesties licence in their synode begun at London anno Dom. 1603* (London, 1604), STC (2nd ed.) / 10070.

Clowes, William, *A Short and Profitable Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called (Morbus Gallicus) by Unctions, Set Forth by William Clowes, of London, Chirurgion* (London, 1579), STC (2nd ed.) / 5447.

——— *A Profitable and Necessarie Booke of Obseruations, for all those that are Burned with the Flame of Gun Powder, &c. and also for Curing of Wounds made with Musket and Caliver Shot, and Other Weapons of War Commonly used at this Day both by Sea and Land, as Heerafter Shall be Declared* (London, 1596), STC (2nd ed.) / 5445.5.

Foulis, H., *The history of the wicked plots and conspiracies of our pretended saints representing the beginning, constitution, and designs of the Jesuite* (London, 1662), Wing / F1642.

Graunt, John, *Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality* (London, 1677), Wing / G1602.

Hayne, Thomas, *Grammatices Latinae compendium, anno 1637 E grammaticis tum veteribus, tum neotericis, summa iudicij lima nobilitatis, excerptum, & in unum corpus methodo accuratiore & faciliore redactum, & ad renellæ ætatis captum, conformatum. Here also the most necessary rules are expressed in English, opposite to the Latine, that the one may facilitate and give light to the other* (London, 1637), STC (2nd ed.) / 12978a.

Herring, F.D., *Mischiefes mysterie: or, Treasons master-peece, the Powder-plot Inuented by hellish malice, preuented by heauenly mercy: truely related. And from*

the Latine of the learned and reuerend Doctour Herring translated, and very much dilated. By Iohn Vicars (London, 1617), STC (2nd ed.) / 13247.

Nixon, Anthony, *Londons doue: or A memoriall of the life and death of Maister Robert Dove, citizen and marchant-taylor of London and of his severall almesdeeds and large bountie to the poore, in his life time. He departed this life, on Saterday the 2. day of this instant moneth of May 1612* (London, 1612), STC (2nd ed.) / 18588.

Parker, John. *A True Copy of Two Speeches Spoken by Two Orphans, Educated in Christ-Hospital, on the 13th Day of August, 1663 being a Day Set Apart to Commemorate God's Mercies Bestowed on their Fellow-Brethren, Who were Formerly Educated and Brought Up in the Said Hospital* (London, 1663), Wing (2nd ed.) / P434A.

S., J., *Paidon nosemata: or Childrens diseases both outward and inward. From the time of their birth to fourteen years of age. With their natures, causes, signs, presages and cures. In three books: 1. Of external 2. Universal 3. Inward diseases. Also, the resolutions of many profitable questions concerning children, and of nurses, and of nursing children* (London, 1664). Wing (2nd ed.) / S79.

Vicars, John, *England's worthies under whom all the civill and bloudy warres since anno 1642 to anno 1647 are related* (London, 1647), Wing / V304.

Primary sources: other printed sources

Allan, George A.T. (ed.), *Christ's Hospital Admissions Vol. I 1540-1599* (London, 1937).

——— *Christ's Hospital exhibitioners to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1566-1923* (London, 1924).

Bannerman, Bruce (ed.), *The Registers of St. Mary Le Bowe, Cheapside, All Hallows, Honey Lane, and of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, London* (London, 1914).

Birch, Walter de Gray (ed.), *Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London* (London, 1887).

Bowen, Thomas (ed.), *Extracts from the Records and Court Books of Bridewell Hospital* (London, 1798).

Brooke J.M.S., and A.W.C. Hallen (eds.), *The transcript of the registers of the united parishes of S. Mary Woolnoth and S. Mary Woolchurch Haw: in the city of London, from their commencement 1538 to 1760. To which is prefixed a short account of both parishes, list of rectors and churchwardens, chantries, &c. together with some interesting extracts from the churchwardens' accounts* (London, 1886).

Burgess, Clive (ed.), *The Church Records of St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c1450-c1570* (London, 1999), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol34> [accessed 5 December 2020].

Firth, James Francis (ed.), *Memoranda, References, and Documents Relating to the Royal Hospital of the City of London: prepared under the directions of the committee appointed in relation to the said hospitals* (London. 1863).

Freshfield, Edwin (ed.), *Accomptes of the churchwardens of the paryshe of St Christofer's in London*, 2 vols. (London, 1885).

——— *The account books of the parish of St. Bartholomew Exchange in the City of London 1598-1698* (London, 1895).

——— *Minutes of the vestry meetings and other records of the parish of St Christopher le Stocks in the city of London* (London, 1886).

——— *The vestry minute book of the parish of St Margaret Lothbury in the city of London, 1571-1677* (London, 1887).

Grafton, Richard, *Grafton's Chronicle; or History of England to which is added his table of the Bailiffs, Sheriffs, and Mayors of the City of London from the year 1189, to 1558 inclusive, vol II* (London, 1809).

Hanbury, Benjamin, *Historical Memorials Relating to the Independents or Congregationalists From Their Rise to the Restoration of the Monarchy, A.D. MDCLX*, 3 vols. (London: The Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1844).

Harrison, William, *The Description of England*, ed. by Georges Edelen (Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 1968).

Hartley, Ernest (ed.), *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, vol 1*, (London: William Heinmann, 1895).

Hitchcock, Timothy V (ed.), *Richard Hutton's Complaints Book: The Notebook of the Steward of the Quaker Workhouse At Clerkenwell, 1711-1737* (London: London Record Society, 1987), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol24> [accessed 6 December 2020].

Howes, John, *John Howes Manuscript, 1582, Being a Brief Note of the Order and Manner of the Proceedings in the First Erection of the Three Royal Hospitals of Christ, Bridewell & St. Thomas the Apostle*, ed. by William Lempriere (London, 1904).

——— ‘Second “famyliar and frendly discourse dialogue wyse”, 1587’, in *Tudor Economic Documents, Being Select Documents Illustrating the Economic and Social History of Tudor England*, vol. 3, ed. by R.H. Tawney and Eileen Power (London: Longman, 1924).

Hunt, Leigh. *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries* vol. 1 (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1850).

McCann, Justin, and Hugh Connolly (eds.), *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker and other documents relating to the English Benedictines* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1933).

McMurray, William (ed.), *The records of two city parishes; a collection of documents illustrative of the history of SS. Anne and Agnes, Aldersgate, and St. John Zachary, London, from the twelfth century* (London: Hunter and Longhurst, 1925).

Overall, William Henry (ed.), *The accounts of the churchwardens of the parish of St Michael Cornhill, in the City of London from 1456-1608. With Miscellaneous Memoranda contained in The Great Book of Accounts, and Extracts from the Proceedings of the Vestry from 1563-1607* (London, 1871).

Potts, Robert (ed.), *Liber Cantabrigiensis, An Account of the Aids Afforded to Poor Students, the Encouragements Offered to Diligent Students, and the Rewards Conferred on Successful Students in the University of Cambridge; to which is prefixed A Collection of Maxims, Aphorisms, &c Designed for the Use of Learners*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1855).

Stow, John, *A Survey of London. Reprinted from the Text of 1603*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603> [accessed 06/12/20].

Strype John, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1720), <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/strype/index.jsp> [accessed 06/12/20].

Tawney, R.H., and Eileen Power (eds.), *Tudor Economic Documents, Being Select Documents Illustrating the Economic and Social History of Tudor England*. 3 vols. (London: Longman, 1924).

Treswell, Ralph, *The London surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. by John Schofield (London: London Topographical Society, 1987).

Waddington, William, *Considerations on the original and proper objects of the Royal Hospital of Bridewell. Addressed to the Governors* (London, 1789).

Webb, Cliff (ed.), *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers*, 48 vols (London: Society of Genealogists, 1996-2008).

Welch, Charles (ed.), *Churchwardens' accounts of the parish of All Hallows London Wall, 1455-1536* (London, 1912).

Databases and Digital Resources

ACAD - A Cambridge Alumni Database, <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk>.

Bailey, Richard W., Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550–1563, by Henry Machyn: Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/>.

Beaven, Alfred P., *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III - 1912* (London: E. Fisher and Co., 1908), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-aldermen/hen3-1912> [accessed 5 December 2020].

The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835, <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>.

Early English Books Online, <https://www.proquest.com/legacyredirect/eebo>

Foster, Joseph (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1891), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714> [accessed 5 December 2020].

Greengrass, M., M. Leslie, and M. Hannon (eds), *The Hartlib Papers* (The Digital Humanities Institute: University of Sheffield, 2013) <http://www.dhi.ac.uk/hartlib>.

Keene, Derek and Vanessa Harding, *Historical gazetteer of London before the Great Fire. Pt.1, Cheapside; parishes of All Hallows Honey Lane, St Martin Pomary, St Mary le Bow, St Mary Colechurch and St Pancras Soper Lane* (Cambridge: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1987), <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-gazetteer-pre-fire>

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

Pelling, Margaret and Frances White, *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640 Database* (London, 2004), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/>.

Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, <https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/>

Records of London's Livery Companies Online, <http://www.londonroll.org/>.

Secondary Sources

Allan, George A.T., *Christ's Hospital* (London: Blackie & Son, 1937).

Appleby, Andrew B., 'Diet in Sixteenth-Century England: Sources, Problems, Possibilities', in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 97-116.

Appleby, John, H., 'New light on John Woodall, surgeon and adventurer', *Medical History*, 25 (1981) pp. 251-68.

——— 'Woodall, John (1570–1643), surgeon', *ODNB* (2004).

Archer, Ian W., *The Pursuit of Stability, Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

——— 'Government in Early Modern London: The Challenge of the Suburbs', in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840*, ed. by Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 133-47.

——— 'The burden of taxation on sixteenth-century London', *Historical Journal*, 44.3 (2001), pp. 599-627.

——— 'The government of London, 1500-1650', *London Journal*, 26. 1 (2001), pp. 19-28.

——— 'The Charity of Early Modern Londoners', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 223-44.

——— 'The Livery Companies and Charity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, ed. by Ian A. Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp. 15-28.

——— 'The Charity of London Widows in the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. by Norman L. Jones and Daniel Woolf (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 178-206.

——— 'Craven, Sir William (c. 1545–1618), merchant and local politician', *ODNB* (2004).

——— 'Dixie, Sir Wolstan (1524/5–1594), merchant and administrator, mayor of London', *ODNB* (2004).

——— 'Dowe, Robert (c.1523–1612), merchant and benefactor', *ODNB* (2006).

——— ‘Ramsey [née Dale; other married name Avery], Mary, Lady Ramsey (d. 1601), philanthropist’, *ODNB* (2008).

Ariès, Philippe, *Centuries of childhood: a social history of family life*, trans. by Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

Arkell, Tom, ‘The Incidence of Poverty in England in the Late Seventeenth Century’, *Social History*, 12. 1 (1987), pp. 23-47.

Ashton, Robert, ‘Leman, Sir John (1544–1632), merchant and mayor of London’, *ODNB* (2004).

Austern, Linda Phyllis, ‘Thomas Ravenscroft: musical chronicler of an Elizabethan theatre company.’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38.2 (1985), pp. 238-63.

Baer, William C., ‘Stuart London’s standard of living: re-examining the Settlement of Tithes of 1638 for rents, income, and poverty’, *The Economic History Review*, 63.3 (2010), pp. 612-37.

Baker, Philip and Mark Merry, “‘The poore lost a good Frend and the parish a good Neighbour” : the lives of the poor and their supporters in London's eastern suburb, c.1583 – c.1679’, in *London and beyond : essays in honour of Derek Keene*, ed. by Matthew P. Davies and James A. Galloway (London: University of London Press, 2012), pp. 155-180.

Barrett, Charles R.B., *The History of the Society of Apothecaries of London* (London: Elliot Stock, 1905).

Barron, Caroline M., ‘London in the Later Middle Ages 1300-1550’, *London Journal*, 20.2 (1995), pp. 22-33.

——— ‘The Government of London: the formative phase, 1300–1500’, *London Journal*, 26.1 (2001), pp. 9-18.

Beier, Augustus L., ‘Social Problems in Elizabethan London’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9.2 (1978), pp. 203-21.

——— *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Methuen, 1983).

——— ‘Engine of manufacture: the trades of London’, in *London 1500-1700, the making of the metropolis*, ed. by Augustus L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 141-67.

——— ‘Poverty and Progress in Early Modern England’, in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. by Augustus L. Beier, David Cannadine and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 201-40.

Beier, Augustus L., and Roger Finlay, ‘Introduction. The Significance of the metropolis’, in *London 1500-1700, the making of the metropolis*, ed. by Augustus L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 1-22.

Ben-Amos, Ilana Krausman, ‘Service and the coming of age of young men in seventeenth-century England.’ *Continuity and Change*, 3.1 (1988), pp. 41-64.

——— ‘Women apprentices in the trades and crafts of early modern Bristol’, *Continuity and Change*, 6.2 (1991), pp. 227-52.

——— “‘Good Works’ and Social Ties: Helping the Migrant Poor in Early Modern England’, in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. by M.C. McClendon, J.P. Ward and M. MacDonald (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp.125-40.

——— ‘Reciprocal bonding: parents and their offspring in early modern England’, *Journal of Family History*, 25.3 (2000), pp. 291-312.

Benbow, R. Mark, *Notes to index of London Citizens Involved in Government, 1558-1603*, 2 vols. (Waterville (ME): The author, 1993).

Bennett, Eric, *The Worshipful Company of Carmen of London: a short history* (London: Barracuda Press, 1982).

Bennett, Judith M., ‘Conviviality and charity in medieval and early modern England’, *Past & Present*, 134 (1992), pp. 19-41.

Berlin, Michael, 'Civic ceremony in early modern London', *Urban History*, 13 (1986), pp. 15-27.

Berry, Boyd M., 'The First English Pediatricians and Tudor Attitudes toward childhood', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 35.4 (1974), pp. 561-77.

Birken, William, 'Micklethwaite, Sir John (bap. 1612, d. 1682), physician', *ODNB* (2004).

Bittle, William G. and R. Todd Lane, 'Inflation and Philanthropy in England: a Reassessment of W.K. Jordan's Data', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 29 (1976), pp. 203-10.

Blanch, William H., *The Blue-Coat Boys or School Life in Christ's Hospital with a Short History of the Foundation* (London: E.W. Allen, 1877).

Boulton, Jeremy, *Neighbourhood and Society: a London suburb in the 17th century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

——— 'Wage labour in seventeenth-century London', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 49.2 (1996), pp. 268-90.

——— 'Food prices and the standard of living in London in the "century of revolution", 1580-1700', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 103.3 (2000), pp. 455-92.

——— 'Going on the Parish: The Parish Pension and its Meaning in the London Suburbs, 1640-1724', in *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840*, ed. by Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp.19-46.

——— 'London 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, ed. by Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 315-46.

——— 'The Poor Among the Rich: Paupers and the Parish in the West End, 1600-1724', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.197-225.

Brigden, Susan, 'Youth and the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), pp. 37-67.

Brodsky, Vivien, 'Widows in late Elizabethan London: remarriage, economic opportunity and family orientation', in *The world we have gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure: Essays to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith and Keith Wrightson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

Brooks, Christopher, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. by Jonathan Barry, and Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 52-83.

Burgess, Clive, 'London Parishioners in Times of Change: St Andrew Hubbard Eastcheap, c. 1450-1570', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. 53.1 (2002), pp. 38-63.

Cavallo, Sandra, 'The Motivations of Benefactors. An overview of approaches to the study of charity', in *Medicine and charity before the welfare state*, ed. by Jonathon Barry and Colin Jones (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 46-62.

Challis, C. E., 'Martin, Sir Richard (1533/4–1617), goldsmith', *ODNB* (2004).

Chamberland, Celeste, 'Between the Hall and the Market: William Clowes and Surgical Self-Fashioning in Elizabethan London', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 41.1 (2010), pp. 69-89.

Clark, Gillian, 'A study of nurse-children, 1550-1750', *Local population studies* 39 (1987) pp. 8-23.

Clark, Peter, and Paul Slack, 'Introduction' in *Crisis and order in English Towns 1500-1700*, ed. by Peter Clark, and Paul Slack (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 1-56.

Coates, Ben, 'Poor Relief in London during the English Revolution Revisited', *London Journal*, 25.2 (2000), pp. 40-58.

——— *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Collins, Jessica, 'Jane Holt, Milliner, and Other Women in Business: Apprentices, Freewomen and Mistresses in The Clothworkers Company, 1600-1800', *Textile History*, 44.1 (2013), pp. 72-94.

Copeland, Alfred J., *Bridewell Royal Hospital Past and Present. A short account of it as Palace, Hospital, Prison and School with a collection of interesting memoranda hitherto unpublished* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1888).

Cowie, L.W., 'Bridewell', *History Today*, 23.5 (1973), pp. 350-58.

——— 'The London Greyfriars, From 1224', *History Today*, 26.7 (1976), pp. 462-67.

Crawford, Patricia, "'The sucking child": adult attitudes to childcare in the first year of life in seventeenth-century England', *Continuity and change*, 1 (1986), pp. 23-52.

——— *Parents of poor children in England 1580-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Cressy, David, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975).

——— 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 16.3 (1976), pp. 301-320.

——— 'Death and the social order: the funerary preferences of Elizabethan gentlemen', *Continuity and Change*, 5.1 (1990) pp. 99-119.

——— 'A drudgery of schoolmasters: the teaching profession in Elizabethan and Stuart England', in *Society and culture in early modern England*, ed. by David Cressy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 129-53.

Cummins, Neil, Morgan Kelly and Cormac O' Grada, 'Living standards and Plague in London, 1560-1665', *The Economic History Review*, 69.1 (2016), pp. 3-34.

Cunningham, Carole, 'Christ's Hospital: infant and child mortality in the sixteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 18 (1977), pp. 37-40.

Cunningham, Hugh, *Children & Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995).

Dabhoiwala, Faramerz, 'Summary Justice in Early Modern London', *English Historical Review*, 121.492 (2006), pp. 796-822.

Dale, Hylton B., 'The Worshipful Company of the Woodmongers and the Coal Trade of London,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 70.3648 (1922), pp. 816-23.

De Krey, Gary Stuart, *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Dyer, Alan, 'Wood and Coal: A Change of Fuel', *History Today*, 26.9 (1976), pp. 598-607.

Dyer, Christopher, 'Poverty and its relief in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 216.1 (2012), pp. 41-78.

Earle, Peter, 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *The Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 42.3 (1989), pp. 328-53.

Evans, Charles, M., and Angela Evans, 'Plague – a disease of children and servants? A study of the parish records of St Peter upon Cornhill, London from 1580 to 1605', *Continuity and Change*, 34 (2019), pp. 183-208.

Fabricius, Johannes, *Syphilis in Shakespeare's England* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 1994).

Ferguson, Meraud Grant, 'Grafton, Richard (1506/7–1573), printer and historian', *ODNB* (2004).

Fideler, Paul A., 'Poverty, Policy and Providence: The Tudors and The Poor', in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep Structure, Discourse and Disguise*, ed. by Paul A. Fideler and Thomas F. Mayer (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.194-222.

Fildes, Valerie, 'The Age of Weaning in Britain 1500-1800', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 14 (1982), pp. 223-40.

——— 'The English Wet Nurse and Her Role in Infant Care 1538-1800', *Medical History*, 32 (1988), pp. 142-73.

——— 'Maternal feelings re-assessed: child abandonment and neglect in London and Westminster, 1550-1800', in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. by Valerie Fildes (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 139-780.

Finlay, Roger A. P., 'Health and mortality in London, 1580-1650.', *Bulletin of the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, 18 (1981), pp. 1-5.

——— *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Finlay, Roger A.P., and Beatrice Shearer, 'Population growth and suburban expansion' in *London 1500-1700*, ed. by Augustus L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 37-59.

Forbes, Thomas R., 'Weaver and cordwainer: occupations in the parish of St Giles without Cripplegate, London, in 1654-1693 and 1729-1743', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 4.3 (1980), pp. 119-32.

Foster, Frank Freeman, *The Politics of Stability, A Portrait of the Rulers in Elizabethan London* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1997).

Fox, Adam, 'Food, Drink and Social Distinction in Early Modern England', in *Remaking English society: social relations and social change in early modern England*, ed. by Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard and John Walter, *Studies in early modern cultural, political and social history*, 14 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 165-88.

Freeth, Stephen, 'The Tower Hill Almshouses of the Merchant Taylors' Company', *London Topographical Record*, 30 (2010), pp. 17-41.

Friedman, Alice T., 'The influence of humanism on the education of girls and boys in Tudor England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 25 (1985), pp. 57-70.

Gale, Barry, G., 'The Dissolution and the Revolution in London Hospital Facilities', *Medical History*, 11.1 (Jan. 1967), pp. 91-6.

Gasper Julia, 'Brewer, Thomas (1611–c. 1660), musician and composer', *ODNB* (2004).

——— 'Vicars, John (1580–1652), chronicler and poet', *ODNB* (2004).

Gowing, Laura, 'Girls on Forms: Apprenticing Young Women in Seventeenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 55.3 (2016), pp. 447-73.

Grafton, Anthony, 'Education and apprenticeship', in *William Shakespeare: his world, his work, his influence, vol. I.*, ed. by John F. Andrews (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), pp. 55-65.

Green, Ian, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

Griffiths, Paul, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

——— 'Contesting London Bridewell, 1576-1580', *Journal of British Studies*, 42.3 (2003), pp. 283-315.

——— 'Building Bridewell: London's Self-Images, 1550-1640', *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. by Norman L. Jones and Daniel Woolf (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 228-48.

——— 'Tudor troubles: problems with youth in Elizabethan England', in *The Elizabethan world*, ed. by Susan Doran and Norman Leslie Jones (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 316-34.

Hadwin, J.F., 'Deflating Philanthropy', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 31.1 (1978), pp. 105-17.

Harding, Vanessa, "'And one more may be laid there": the Location of Burials in Early Modern London', *The London Journal*, 14.2 (1989), pp. 112-29.

——— ‘The population of early modern London: a review of the published evidence’, *London Journal*, 15.2 (1990), pp. 111-29.

——— ‘Early Modern London 1550-1700.’ *London Journal*, 20.2 (1995), pp. 34-45.

——— ‘City, capital and metropolis: the changing shape of seventeenth-century London’, in *Imagining Early Modern London. Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by Julia Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 117-43.

——— ‘Controlling a Complex Metropolis, 1650-1750: politics, parishes and powers’ *London Journal*, 26.1 (2001), pp. 29-37.

——— *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1550-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

——— ‘The Crown, the City and the Orphans: the City of London and its finances, 1400-1700’, in *Urban public debts, urban government and the market for annuities in Western Europe (14th – 18th centuries)*, ed. by Marc Boone, Karel Davids, and Paul Janssens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 51-60.

——— ‘Recent perspectives on early modern London’, *Historical Journal*, 47.2 (2004), pp. 1-16.

——— ‘Plague in Early Modern London: Chronologies, localities and environments’ in *Plague and the City*, ed. by Lukas Engelmann, John Henderson and Christos Lynteris (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 39-68.

Harkness, Deborah E., *The Jewel House. Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

——— ‘A View from the Streets: Women and Medical Work in Elizabethan London’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 82.1 (2008), pp. 52-85.

Hayner, Linda, ‘Foundlings of St. Olave Jewry, 1620-60’, *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (2001), pp. 91-98.

Henderson, John. 'Introduction, Special Issue, Charity and the poor in Medieval and Renaissance Europe', *Continuity and Change* 3.2 (1988), pp. 145-51.

——— 'Women, Children and Poverty in Florence at the time of the Black Death', in, *Poor Women and Children in the European Past*, ed. by John Henderson and Richard Wall (London, 1994), pp. 160-179.

Herlan, Ronald W., 'Social Articulation and the Configuration of Parochial Poverty in London on the Eve of the Restoration', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 2.4 (1976), pp. 43-53.

——— 'Poor Relief in the London Parish of Antholin's Budge Row, 1638-1664', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 2.4 (1977), pp. 179-99.

——— 'Poor Relief in the London Parish of Dunstan in the West during the English Revolution', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 3.1 (1977), pp. 13-36.

——— 'Poor Relief in London during the English Revolution'. *Journal of British Studies*, 18.2 (1979), pp. 30-51.

Hindle, Steve. *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).

——— 'Civility, Honesty and the Identification of the Deserving Poor in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, ed. by Henry French and Jonathan Barry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.38-59.

——— 'Dependency, Shame and Belonging: Badging the Deserving Poor, c.1550-1750', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004) pp. 6-35.

——— *On the parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c.1550-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

——— "'Waste" Children? Pauper apprenticeship under the Elizabethan poor laws, c.1598-1697', in *Women, Work and Wages in England, c.1600-1850*, ed. by Penelope Lane, Neil Raven and Keith D.M. Snell (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp.15-46.

Hollingsworth, Mary. and T.H. Hollingsworth, 'Plague Mortality Rates by Age and Sex in the Parish of St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate, London, 1603', *Population Studies*, 25.1 (1971), pp. 131-146.

Houlbrooke, Ralph Anthony, *The English Family 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984).

Hovland, Stephanie, R., 'Girls as apprentices in late medieval London', in *London and the kingdom: essays in honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. by Matthew P. Davies and Andrew Prescott (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), pp. 179-94.

Hunt, William and Vivienne Larminie, 'Colfe, Abraham (1580–1657), Church of England clergyman and benefactor', *ODNB* (2004).

Hughes, R. Elwyn, 'The rise and fall of the "antiscorbutics": some notes on the traditional cures for "land scurvy"', *Medical History*, 34.1 (1990), pp. 52-64.

Jacobi, Juliane, 'Between charity and education: orphans and orphanages in early modern times', *Paedagogica Historica*, 45.1 (2009), pp. 51-66.

Jeans, Susi, 'The Easter Psalms of Christ's Hospital', *Journal of the Royal Music Association*, 88 (1961-2), pp. 45-60.

Jenner, Mark S.R., 'From conduit community to commercial network? Water in London, 1500-1725', in *Londinopolis. Essays in the social and cultural history of early modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 250-72.

——— 'Plague on a Page: Lord Have Mercy Upon Us in Early Modern London', *Seventeenth Century*, 27.3 (2012), pp. 255-86.

Jewell, Helen M., *Education in early modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

Jones, Dwyrdd Wyn, 'The "hallage" receipts of the London cloth markets, 1562-c. 1720,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 25.4 (1972), pp. 567-87.

Jordan, Wilbur Kitchener, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959).

——— *The Charities of London 1480-1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960).

Kingsford, Charles Lethbridge, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1915), *British History Online*. Web. 23 November 2019.
<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/brit-franciscan-soc/vol6>.

Kirk, Rudolph, *Mr. Pepys upon the state of Christ's Hospital* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1935).

Klein, Benjamin “‘Between the bums and bellies of the multitude’: civic pageantry and the problem of audience in late Stuart London.’, *London Journal*, 17 (1992), pp. 18-26.

Kyle, Chris R., ‘Parliament and the Politics of Carting in Early Stuart London.’ *London Journal*, 27.2 (2002), pp. 1-11.

Larminie, Vivienne, ‘Platter, Thomas (1574–1628), physician and traveller’, *ODNB* (2005).

Lane, Joan, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996).

Lawrence, Christopher, ‘Medical Minds, Surgical Bodies: Corporeality and the Doctors,’ in *Science Incarnate: Historical Embodiments of Natural Knowledge*, ed. by Christopher Lawrence and Steven Shapin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.p. 156-201.

Leedham-Green, Elisabeth, ‘Moses, William (1622-1688), serjeant-at-law’, *ODNB* (2004).

Lempriere, William, *A History of the Girls' School of Christ's Hospital, London, Hoddesdon and Hertford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924).

Leonard, Ellen M., *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1900).

Leunig, Timothy, Chris Minns and Patrick Wallis, 'Networks in the Premodern Economy: The Market for London Apprenticeships, 1600-1749', *Journal of Economic History*, 71.2 (2011), pp. 413-43.

Levene, Alys, 'The origins of the children of the London Foundling Hospital, 1741-1760: a reconsideration', *Continuity and Change*, 18 (2003), pp. 201-35.

——— *Childcare, health and mortality at the London Foundling Hospital, 1741-1800: "Left to the mercy of the world"* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

——— 'Parish apprenticeship and the old poor law in London', *Economic History Review*, 63. 4 (2010), pp. 915-41.

Lindley, Keith, 'Wollaston, Sir John (1585/6–1658), mayor of London, *ODNB* (2004).

MacFarlane, Stephen, 'Social policy and the poor in the later seventeenth century,' in *London 1500-1700, the making of the metropolis*, ed. by Augustus L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 252-277.

MacKinnon, Dolly, 'Hearing the Poor: Experiencing the Sounds of Charity in Early Modern England' in *Experiences of Charity, 1250-1650*, ed. by Anne M. Scott (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 239-56.

Mansell, Charmian, 'The variety of women's experiences as servants in England (1548–1649): evidence from church court depositions', *Continuity and Change*, 33.3 (2018), pp. 315-338.

Manzione, Carol Kazmierczak, *Christ's Hospital of London, 1552-1598 "A Passing Deed of Pity"* (London: Associated University Presses, 1995).

——— 'Identity, Placement, and Circulation of the Children of Christ's Hospital', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 6.3 (2013) pp. 428-55.

Mateer, David, 'Ravenscroft, Thomas (b. 1591/2) music theorist and composer', *ODNB* (2004).

McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston, 'Local responses to the poor in late medieval and Tudor England', *Continuity and Change*, 3.2 (1988), pp. 209-45.

——— 'Poverty, Charity and Coercion in Elizabethan England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35:3 (2005), pp. 457-80.

——— 'Negligence, greed and the operation of English charities, 1350–1603', *Continuity and Change*, 27.1 (2012), pp. 53-81.

——— *Poor relief in England, 1350-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Merritt, Julia F., 'The reshaping of Stow's Survey: Munday, Strype, and the Protestant City' in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by Julia F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 52-88.

Meyer, W.R., 'Hayne, Thomas (1581/2–1645) schoolmaster and author', *ODNB* (2004).

Munk, William, *The roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London: comprising biographical sketches of all the eminent physicians whose names are recorded in the Annals, from the foundation of the college in 1518 to its removal in 1825, from Warwick Lane to Pall Mall East*, vol. 1 (London: The college of physicians, 1878).

Munkhoff, Richelle, 'Poor women and parish public health in sixteenth-century London', *Renaissance Studies*, 28.4 (2014), pp. 579-96.

Murray, I. G., 'Clowes, William (1543/4–1604), surgeon', *ODNB* (2004).

Nef, John, U., 'An Early Energy Crisis and Its Consequences', *Scientific American*, 237.5 (1977), pp. 140-151.

Newall, Fiona, 'Wet nursing and child care in Aldenham, Hertfordshire, 1595-1726: some evidence on the circumstances and effects of seventeenth-century child rearing practices', in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England: essays in memory of Dorothy McLaren*, ed. by Valerie Fildes (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 122-138.

Newton, Gill, 'Infant Mortality Variations, Feeding Practices and Social Status in London between 1550 and 1750', *Social History of Medicine*, 24.2 (2011), pp. 260-80.

Newton, Hannah, 'Children's Physic: Medical Perceptions and Treatment of Sick Children in Early Modern England, 1580-1720', *Social History of Medicine* 23.3 (2010), pp. 456-74.

——— *The sick child in early modern England, 1580-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

O'Day, Rosemary, *Education and Society 1500-1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (London: Longman, 1982).

——— 'An Educated Society', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain*, ed. by John Morrill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 119-38.

——— *Professions in early modern England, 1450-1800: servants of the commonweal* (Harlow: Longman, 2000).

O' Donoghue, Edward Geoffrey, *The story of Bethlehem Hospital from its foundation in 1247* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1914).

——— *Bridewell Hospital, Palace, Prison, Schools, from the earliest times to the end of the reign of Elizabeth*. 2 vols. (London: John Lane, 1923-29).

Park, Katherine, 'Healing the poor: hospitals and medical assistance in renaissance Florence', in *Medicine and charity before the welfare state*, ed. by Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 26-45.

Pearce, Ernest Harold, *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (London: Methuen, 1936).

Pearl, Valerie, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics, 1625-43* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

——— 'Puritans and Poor Relief. The London Workhouse, 1649-1660', in *Puritans and Revolutionaries. Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to*

Christopher Hill, ed. by Donald H. Pennington and Keith Vivian Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 206-32.

——— ‘Change and Stability in Seventeenth-century London’, *London Journal*, 5 (1979), pp. 3-34.

——— ‘Social Policy in Early Modern London’, in *History and Imagination: Essays in Honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper*, ed. by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl and Blair Worden (London: Duckworth, 1979), pp. 115-31.

Pelling, Margaret, ‘Healing the Sick Poor: Social Policy and Disability in Norwich 1550-1640’, *Medical History* 29 (1985), pp. 115-37.

——— ‘Appearance and reality: barber-surgeons, the body and disease’, in *London 1500-1700, the making of the metropolis*, ed. by Augustus L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 82-112.

——— ‘Medical practice in early modern England: trade or profession’, in *The professions in early modern England*, ed. by Wilfrid R. Prest (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 90-128.

——— ‘Child Health as a Social Value in Early Modern England’, *Social History of Medicine*, 1.2 (1988), pp. 135-64.

——— ‘Apprenticeship, Health and Social Cohesion in Early Modern London’, *History Workshop Journal*, 37 (1994), pp. 33-56.

——— ‘Knowledge common and acquired: the education of unlicensed medical practitioners in early modern London’, in *The history of medical education in Britain*, ed. by Vivian Nutton and Roy Sydney Porter (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 250-79.

——— *The common lot: sickness, medical occupations and the urban poor in early modern England* (London: Longman, 1998).

——— ‘John Graunt, the Hartlib circle and child mortality in mid-seventeenth-century London’, *Continuity and Change*, 31.3 (2016), pp. 335-59.

Pelling, Margaret and Charles Webster, 'Medical Practitioners' in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 165-235.

Pinchbeck, Ivy, 'The State and the Child in Sixteenth Century England', *British Journal of Sociology*, 7.4 (1956), pp. 273-85.

Pinchbeck, Ivy and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society, Vol. 1, From Tudor times to the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1969).

Plumley, Nicholas Martin, 'The Royal Mathematical School, Christ's Hospital', *History Today*, 23.8 (1973), pp. 581-7.

Pollock, Linda A., *Forgotten children: parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Porter, Stephen, 'Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Almshouse: The Charterhouse Example', *London Journal* 23.1 (1998) pp. 1-14.

——— *The London Charterhouse: a history of Thomas Sutton's charity* (Stroud: Amberley, 2009).

Power, Michael J., 'The east and west in early-modern London', in *Wealth and power in Tudor England: essays presented to S.T. Bindoff*, ed. by Eric William Ives, Robert J. Knecht and J. J. Scarisbrick (London: Athlone Press, 1978), pp. 167-85.

——— 'A 'crisis' reconsidered: social and economic dislocation in London in the 1590s', *London Journal*, 12.2 (1986), pp. 134-145.

——— 'London and the control of the 'crisis' of the 1590s', *History* 70.230 (1985) pp. 371-85.

Pullan, Brian, 'Catholics and the Poor in Early Modern Europe', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (1976), pp. 15-34.

——— 'Support and redeem: charity and poor relief in Italian cities from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.' *Continuity and Change*, 3.2 (1988), pp. 177-208.

Rappaport, Steven Lee, 'Social Structure and Mobility in Sixteenth-Century London: Part 1', *London Journal* 9.2 (1983), pp. 107-35.

——— 'Social Structure and Mobility in Sixteenth-Century London: Part II', *London Journal* 10.2 (1984), pp. 107-34.

——— *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Rawcliffe, Carole, 'Medicine and medical practice in later mediaeval London', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 5.1 (1981), pp. 13-25.

——— 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), pp. 1-21.

Razzell, Peter, 'Infant mortality in London, 1538-1850: a methodological study', *Local Population Studies*, 87 (2011), pp. 45-64.

Razzell, Peter and Christine Spence, 'The History of Infant, Child and Adult Mortality in London, 1550-1850.' *London Journal*, 32.3 (2007), pp. 271-92.

Rohrkasten, Jens, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221-1539* (Munster: Lit, 2004).

Rose, Craig, 'Politics and the London Royal Hospitals, 1683-92', in *The Hospital in History*, ed. by Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 123-48.

Ruggles, Steven, 'The limitations of English family reconstitution: English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837', *Continuity and Change*, 14.1 (1999) pp. 105-30.

Rushton, Neil S., 'Monastic Charitable Provision in Tudor England: Quantifying and Qualifying Poor Relief in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Continuity and Change*, 16.1 (2001), pp. 9-44.

Rushton, Neil S. and Wendy Sigle-Rushton, 'Monastic Poor Relief in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32.2 (2001), pp. 193-216.

Schen, Claire S., 'Constructing the Poor in Early Seventeenth-Century London', *Albion*, 32.3 (2000), pp. 450-63.

——— 'Strategies of poor aged women and widows in sixteenth-century London', in *Women and ageing in British society since 1500*, ed. by Lynn A. Botelho and Pat Thane (Harlow: Longman, 2001), pp. 13-30.

——— *Charity and Lay Piety in Reformation London, 1500-1620* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

Schnucker, Robert V., 'Puritan attitudes towards childhood discipline, 1560-1634', in *Women as mothers in pre-industrial England: essays in memory of Dorothy McLaren*, ed. by Valerie Fildes (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 108-21.

Schofield, Roger, 'Correspondence', *Local Population Studies*, 9 (1972), pp. 49-52.

Schofield, Roger and Edward Anthony Wrigley, 'Infant and child mortality in the late Tudor and early Stuart period', in *Health, medicine and mortality in the sixteenth century* ed. by Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 61-95.

Sharpe, Pamela, 'Poor children as apprentices in Colyton, 1598-1830', *Continuity and Change*, 6.2 (1991), pp. 253-70.

Siena, Kevin Patrick 'The "foul disease" and privacy: the effects of venereal disease and patient demand on the medical marketplace in early modern London', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 75.2 (2001), pp. 199-224.

——— *Venereal disease, hospitals and the urban poor: London's 'foul wards' 1600-1800* (Rochester (NY): Rochester University Press, 2004).

Slack, Paul, 'Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-58.' in *The mid-Tudor polity, c. 1540-1560*, ed. by Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (London: Palgrave, 1980), pp. 94-115.

——— *The impact of plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1985).

——— ‘Metropolitan government in crisis: the response to plague’, in *London 1500-1700, the making of the metropolis*, ed. by Augustus L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986).

——— *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Longman, 1988).

——— *The English Poor Law, 1531-1782* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990).

——— ‘Dearth and Social Policy in Early Modern England’, *Social History of Medicine*, 5 (1992), pp. 1-17.

——— ‘Hospitals, workhouses and the relief of the poor in early modern London’, in *Health care and poor relief in Protestant Europe, 1500-1700*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 234-51.

——— *From Reformation to improvement. Public welfare in early modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

Smith, Richard M., ‘Charity, self-interest and welfare: reflections from demographic and family history’, in *Charity, self-interest and welfare in the English past*, ed. by Martin J. Daunton (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 23-49.

Snell, Keith David Malcolm, *Annals of the Labouring Poor Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

——— ‘Pauper settlement and the right to poor relief in England and Wales’, *Continuity and Change*, 6.3 (1991), pp. 375-415.

——— ‘The apprenticeship system in British history: the fragmentation of a cultural institution’, *History of Education*, 25.4 (1996), pp. 303-21.

Steer, Christian, ‘Souls of benefactors at Grey Friars church, London’, in *Medieval Londoners: essays to mark the eightieth birthday of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. by Elizabeth A. New and Christian Steer (London: University of London Press, 2019), pp. 297-322.

Stone, Lawrence, ‘The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640’, *Past & Present*, 28 (1964), pp. 41-80.

Stungo, Ruth, 'Rand, Isaac (1674–1743), botanist' *ODNB* (2004).

Tarbin, Stephanie, 'Caring for Poor and Fatherless Children in London, c. 1350–1550', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3.3 (2010), pp. 391–410.

——— 'Raising Girls and Boys: Fear, Awe, and Dread in the Early Modern Household', in *Authority, gender and emotions in late medieval and early modern England*, ed. by Susan Broomhall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 106–30.

Terpstra, Nicholas, 'Making a Living, Making a Life: Work in the Orphanages of Florence and Bologna', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31.4 (2000), pp. 1063–79.

——— *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance: Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

Thrush, Andrew, 'Clitherow, Sir Christopher (1577/8–1641), merchant and politician', *ODNB* (2004).

Van Leeuwen, Marco H.D., 'Giving in early modern history: philanthropy in Amsterdam in the Golden Age.' *Continuity and Change*, 27.2 (2012), pp. 301–343.

[Victoria County History] *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 1, Physique, Archaeology, Domesday, Ecclesiastical Organization, the Jews, Religious Houses, Education of Working Classes To 1870, Private Education From Sixteenth Century*, ed. by J. S. Cockburn, H. P. F. King and K. G. T. McDonnell (London: Victoria County History, 1969).

Wallis, Patrick, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England', *Journal of Economic History*, 68.3 (2008), pp. 832–61.

Wallis, Patrick, Cliff Webb and Chris Minns, 'Leaving home and entering service: the age of apprenticeship in early modern London', *Continuity and Change*, 25.3 (2010), pp. 377–404.

——— 'Rules and reality: quantifying the practice of apprenticeship in early modern Europe', *Economic History Review*, 65.2 (2012), pp. 556–79.

Wareing, John, *Indentured Migration and the Servant Trade from London to America, 1618-1718; 'there is a great want of servants'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Wrigley, Edward Anthony and Roger Schofield, *The population history of England, 1541-1871: a reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981).

Wunderli, Richard M., 'Evasion of the office of alderman in London, 1523-1672', *London Journal*, 15 (1990), pp. 3-18.

Yamey, Basil S., 'Peele, James (d. 1585), writer on bookkeeping', *ODNB* (2004).

Theses

Clark, Gillian, 'The Nurse Children of London, 1540-1750: A Population Study' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Reading University, 1988).

Daly, Christopher, 'The Hospitals of London: Administration, Refoundation and Benefaction, c. 1500-1572' (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1993).

Hitchcock, T.V., 'The English Workhouse: A Study in Institutional Poor Relief in Selected Counties, 1696-1750' (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1985).

Holder N, 'The Medieval Friaries of London: A topographic and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011).

House A.P., 'The City of London and the Problem of the Liberties, c1540-c1640' (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 2006).

Hovland, Stephanie, R., 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London (c.1300-1530)' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2006).

Payne, D.E., 'Children of the poor in London 1700-1780' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2008).

Roberts, Raymond Stanley, 'The London Apothecaries and Medical Practice in Tudor and Stuart England' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1964).

Sugahara, Miu, 'The livery companies' management of suburban grammar schools in early modern London' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2011).

Tsakiropoulou, Ionna Zoe, 'The Piety and Charity of London's Female Elite, c. 1580-1630' (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 2016).